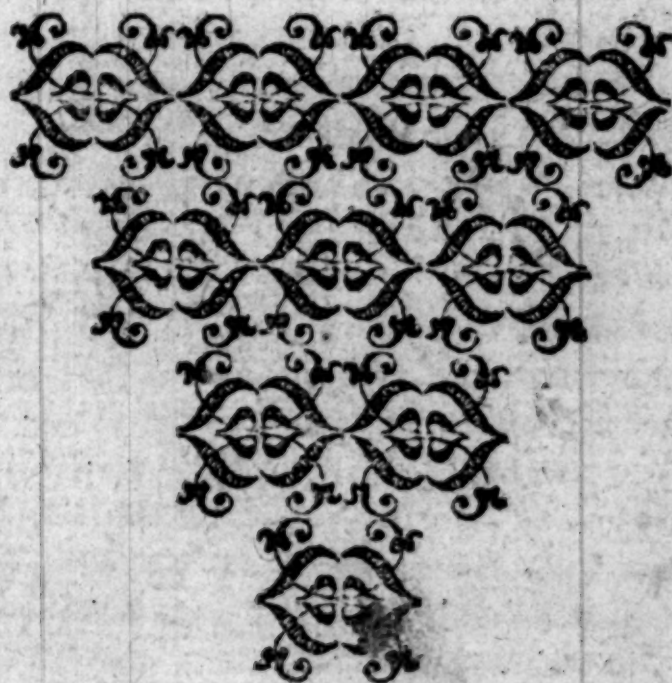


A LEGENDARIE,

CONTAINING AN AM-
PLE DISCOVRSE OF THE

life and behaviour of Charles Car-
dinal of Lorraine, and of his
brethren, of the house
of Guise.

*Written in French by Francis
de Lisle.*



Imprinted. 1577.

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Francis de L'isle vnto the Reader.



TH E most reuerend Cardinal of Lorraine, friendly reader, did in his life time long feede vs with a vaine hope of a view of the Legend of the life of his brother the Duke of Guise, who was slaine before Orleans, the which we haue with great deuotion diiligently waited for, in ful assurance that among so manie learned men, as the said Cardinal had alwaies at commandement, he would chuse out one of the quickest wit and capacitie, who might frame some worke worthie the sight of our France, which long time hath seene fewe deuises pleasant vnto the eye, or delectable in the eare: We knowe also that the Cardinal was not destitute of sufficient store of remembrances, requisite for the beautifying of such a labour. But after much attendance, we finally haue found our selues frustrate of our expectation, through the deceasse of the said Cardinal, who hath left vnto vs the making of the Legendarie as wel of his owne person, as also of the aforesaid Duke of Guise, and the rest of the brethren: whereby diuers haue bene occasioned to thinke euil of this his said promise, and to suppose that himself was fully resolved to feede them in hope, through doubt least his flower potte should haue bene discovered, the filthines and abomination whereof, would haue yelded him and al his progenie, most stincking and abominable in the sight of our whole nation. Not wasting anie longer time therefore in the disputation, or arguing vpon the causes which haue moued him thus to cast dust in our eyes, neither making anie accompt of his lies and glosings, it is requisite that my selfe should yelde a reckoning of mine owne doings, and display the causes which haue moued me to undertake to ease the saide Cardinals heyres (if so be he hath anie, for my selfe neither am, neither wil be counted in their number) of such their labours, as they should haue sustained by writing this Legende, comprehending the lines not onely of the Duke of Guise, and of the Cardinal of Lorraine, but also of al the rest of the brethren,

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which neuerthelesse are not displayed at full, but only in part.

Some yeres therefore are passed, since that thinking upon the miserable calamities of our France, which I did see daily to encrease, not that I was so blinde, as not to beholde how God being prouoked through the iniquities of the French Nation, did stretch forth his arme against them, yet marking with what stones and weapons he endeuored to humble vs and assuage our pride, I found that the house of Guise, among others were as his chiefest instruments, whose crafts and cruelties exercised ouer both great and small, and therefore already published in sundrie pamphlets, ought not still to lie scattered abroad, in hazard of perishing in the pit of silence, or by being neuer detected vnto the posteritie. This was therefore one of the causes, that moued me by litle and litle to begin to serche among my writings and papers, for some bookes and remembrances correspondent vnto such as the Cardinal in his life time made so great accompt of, as to lay them for the most part upon his table, and then to say, (as he did in the time of Francis the second, at an assemblie of the chiefest estates of the realme at Fontainebleau) that the same were the crownes of his life which should yelde him immortal: Out of the which I began to collect certaine places and notable matters, hopinge thereby somewhat to assiste a certaine friende of mine, who began happily with this piece of worke: But when he gaue wholly ouer this labour to the intent the better to tend vnto things of greater importance, which one day I hope shal come to light, also that the murders of S. Bartlemew so bloodily celebrated had euen lighted in the necke of their other driftes (for therein the said Lords of Guise were in maner chiefe doers) I thought it not amisse to set forth before such as are thereof ignorant, part of their life and maners, seing that them selues do delite in the continuation of the same, and that the wicked man must both heare and see things which he would not, because him selfe committeth such as he ought not.

Now am I so farre of, through these remembrances collected here and there, (as anie who haue read or perused such discourses as within these fiftene yeres haue bene published, may at the first blush perceiue) from restraining the desires and pennes of such as
haue

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haue in their hands other more large, ample, or exact Legends of the race of the Guisians, that contrariwise I do most heartily desire them no longer to defraude our France the common mother of vs all, of such remembrances and warnings as ought often to be set before her eyes, the which the house of Guise both haue, and yet do endeuour to plucke out of her head, whereby themselves may afterward conduct and order al thinges after their owne pleasures and ambitious appetites.

Manie times haue I wondered at the dulnesse of diuers French men who otherwise do professe but ouer much knowledge and understanding, and yet in the meane time do seeke to perswade vs that whatsoeuer commoditie we haue, doeth proceede onely of these men, from whome in deede most of our inconueniences do arise: For had not priuate affection bleared the eyes of their understanding, I dare say they would be of an other minde, and that whensoever it shal please God to take out of their sight the looking glasse of ambition, reuenge, and such other preiences as doe dazel their sight, themselves wil willingly eschewe and detest that filthines which now they do cherish and worship.

In respect of those who daily with me do behold these euils, them do I wish to consider how or in what maner they may be able to procure anie remedie thereunto, and to the same earnestly to set their hands, as the lawe of Nature bindeth them.

As for such matters as herein my self haue entreated vpon, at the first I supposed I might haue reduced into ten or twelue leaues of paper al that I minded thereof to publish: but being once shipped I was sodainely caried away into so marueilous a sea of affaires, that before that I can recouer any haue, I shalbe constrained through innumerable rockes and perilous goulfes, to make a long and tedious nauigation: And as those who hauing once forsaken land, can hardely in a great while recouer the same, although both with ogres and sayles they doe what so lyeth in them, euen so I being entred so farre into this Guisian sea, must & wil now endeuour my selfe to come to as speedy a haue as possibly I may, and yet after such maner as I hope your selues, though that I take not land so soone as you would wish, wil neuer theles hold me excused: For the tractes & trauerses are so long and diuers, with so many waues one

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in an others necke, & such contrariety of winds puffing and tossing the course of my litle barke diuers wayes, that many times I am ready to beginne againe, and doe stil finde new occasions of further trauaile: howbeit with Gods helpe I will recouer land with all possible speede, setting before your eyes the rest of this Legende.

The style is such as you see, namely simple and naked after the maner of remembrances and collections. For, for the most part I am content to vse onely the tearmes and phrases of such other writers as before me haue delte herin: and notwithstanding that I haue set forth most of them at large, yet haue I not done it to the ende to fill vp paper, but onely in respect that in my opinion it seemed necessary for the explaining of such pointes as in that place were to be handled. For I doubt not but that the time may come when we shall see a full historie, wherein these homely and simple beginnings or descriptions of the deedes of the house of Guise shalbe set forth in such tearmes as the matter requireth: and vnto me it is enough if my rude and sillie discourse may serue some of our french men as a light wherwith to behold and feele the fier which hath already consumed many, and yet doth ouermuch smoke still in purpose to wast the remnant, unlesse a mightier then man doe take in hand to provide a remedie.

It might be demaunded wherefore I haue so long deferred the bringing of this into light: but I may answere that it is yet time enough, also that it were to be wished that this Legend might be an ample discourse of all mischiefes fully ended and past, whereby we should be exempt of all cause of feare in time to come. But the spirit of the Cardinal of Lorraine liueth stil in France, nothing desisting from all meanes to bring the estate into like staye as in his life time he pretended, which in case many cannot comprehend or perceiue, I would be very glad if also in time they might not feele it vnto their owne confusions. For my part I can not possibly betraye her of whom I do bolde my life, and therefore do beginne to warne her of such fraudulent embushments as are layed to deuoure her, vnder pretence of her maintenance, wherein I would that my brethren and fellowe countrey men shoulde, (if they lust) reape the commoditie of my good will toward them, the which I minde more plainely to set before their eyes, if God lend
me

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me life, not permitting any other to be more affectionate to resist by lawfull meanes the driftes and practises of foreyne tyrannies, then my selfe. And notwithstanding I haue not so good opportunitie so to do as many others, yet will I so effectually endeuour it, that the tokens of my good will shal not be to seeke. I could haue wished that I had some other matter to deale in, nothing doubting but that all men do knowe that I were able to write of other affaires, which indede is true: but I trust they can not denie but that it is both time and labour well bestowed, when a man discloseth vnto the posterity, yea and to such as yet do liue, such things as are most necessarye for their instruction.

Moreouer in deducting of these matters, I haue not prescribed vnto any the end wherunto he ought to applie them, neither what commoditie he may reape by the knowledge therof, seing that it wilbe easie for euery one to comprehend the same, considering also that both the thinges which be passed, and those which are conteined in this booke, together with such as shalbe disclosed in others that shall followe, are so cleere and euident vnto al men, that I should euen do open wrong to their memorie and iudgement, if I should make any long discourse therupon. My onely request therefore is, that it would please all Frenchmen to call to minde their auncient generosity and liberty, & to withstand al slavish bondage, whereinto through the factions of the Guisians they haue bene drawen, who abusing the simplicitie of our Kings, haue reduced the whole estate of our realme into such danger as al men may evidently perceiue.

I am no otherwise perswaded, but that diuers courtiers and seruants of the house of Guise in reading in this legendary such thinges as are written in their owne consciences, will shake their heads and bend their browes against me, contrarying this thing or that thing, whom I am to request patiently to beare with me, vntil they see the rest of the bookes which shall shortly followe this, if God permit: For then peraduenture they will poure water into their wine. Otherwise if they be desirous to publish any other Legendes in their masters behalfe, so that it be with better consciences then them selues haue serued the, I am therewithal very wel content. But in case they seeke to wrong the trueth, let them be as-

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ured that their flatteries and falshodes shalbe reueiled to all the world, to the end men may beware of them, and that in time to come none may unwittingly be deceived.

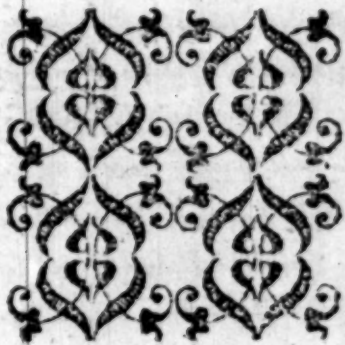
The Cardinal had continually one principle in his mouth touching the advancement of his enterprises, which was, that a lie faced out three hours, or as many daies at the least, was much worth, practising therein the saying of an ancient philosopher, which was, that a lyer ought to be utterly deuoid of shame: which rule his seruants and partakers doe stil obserue, thinking that in stoutly denying the thing which is more manifest then euen day light, the time will weare away, and for that most of them do little or nothing at all regarde anie religion, it is not to be marueiled, though they treade vnder their feete al equitie and honestie, which are the two pillers and staves of mans life, so that long to contend with them were but lost labour: wherfore we are to referre them vnto the iudgement seate of almighty God, before whom they shal at length appeare, notwithstanding they endenour to perswade both them selues and other men of the contrary.

*If anie man aske me wherfore I do now publish but one booke of this legend, seeing that I haue promised more in the title, I doe in dede confesse that I am in possession of the remembrances of the whole worke, but being surprised, and as it were manieled with an ineuitable let, and the printer also being importunate to publish so much as I had already done, hath wrested out of my hands this first part, wherein finding any faultes escaped through the said printers negligence, I trust you will neuerthelesse excuse me, as wanting opportunitie to remaine at his presse, and leysure to write ouer againe that which I had but scribled before, hoping that the next bookes shall be better corrected, also that if in any part of this booke you misse any particular matter, you shal finde the same in some other more conuenient place hereafter. Howbeit if so be that such of the race of Guise as do remaine, might obtaine so much fauour of God as that it would please him to turne their hearts, so that they would suffer our realme to be in quiet, and that contenting them selues with that which is past, and so thorough courteous and faithfull behauiours would blot out the remembrance of their former mischicfes, I would be glad to breake
promise*

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promise, and would endeavour to be the first that should cast the remembrance thereof into the pit of obliuion: but in continuing the race which hitherto they haue runne, they shal find both braines & hands enough to resist the. And although that through crafts and treason they and their semblables haue hitherto, rather then by force of armes so highly aduanced them selues, yet wil the trueth in the end ouercome and haue his course, so that they shal get nothing by following the steppes of their auncesters, saue onely they shal become so much the more odious both vnto God & men. Yea they shal builde their pinnacle so high that finally it shal fall vpon their owne heads, and ensnare them selues. If therefore they wil preuent this danger, and assubiect them selues vnto their due-
tie, it is the thing whereof I should be verie glad: neither can I denie but that the house of Guise conteining them selues within their limites, might haue done good seruice to the crowne of France: but of seruants seeking to become masters they haue marred all, and ouerthrowne both themselves and others. Thus loth to be in this matter ouer tedious, I beseech you friendly readers, to shew a good countenance vnto this first booke, untill the coming forth of the rest which shortly shalbe presented vnto your view: This do I assuredly trust that you wil do, in case you be natural French men, that is to say, affectionate vnto the seruice of God,
the commoditie of your countrie,
and the conseruation of your
auncient and noble
libertie.

Fare wel.



THE
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Yours very truly,

[Faint signature or name]

Dear Sir,

[Faint, illegible text, possibly a second signature or a block of text.]

THE
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THE LEGENDE

of Charles Cardinal of

Lorraine, and of his brethren, of
the house of Guise.



IN the yere of our Lord 1362, after the de-
ceasse of Iohn Duke of Lorraine, succee-
ded his eldest sonne Charles the firste,
who by Margaret daughter vnto Robert
of Bauieres, Countye Palatine, had issue
three sonnes, & as many daughters. The
sonnes named Charles, Robert and Federic dyed with-
out issue: But of the daughters, the eldest named Marie
was maryed vnto Enguerand Earle of Coucy, who also died
without heyres: The seconde called Katherine was giuen
to Iames Marquise of Baden, with the dowrye of three pre-
uostshipps, namely S. Dier, Arches, and Bruettes, besides a
good summe of money, in consideration whereof, the said
Marquise renounced his whole title vnto the succession in
the Duchye of Lorraine: The third daughter Isabell was
maried vnto Rene of Anjou the sonne of Lewes of Anjou,
the seconde sonne to Iohn King of France. This Rene the
first succeeded his father in lawe Charles in the Duchye of
Lorraine, seeking also the possession of the Duchye of Bar,
in the right of his mother Yoland of Arragon: wherein
Anthony Earle of Vaudemont, sonne of Ferry Duke
Charles brother withstood him, and chalenged the sayd
Duchye, wherunto he was assisted by Philippe Duke of
Burgundye, who was offended with the mariage of the
said Rene of Anjou vnto Isabell of Lorraine. Hereupon in
a conflict neere vnto Bulainuille, the said Rene was taken
prisoner,

*The genea-
logie of the
house of
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prisoner, and thence conueyed vnto Dijon vnder the custodie of the Duke of Burgundye aforesaid, where he was detained fifteene yeres at the petition of the Englishmen and Burgundions, vnder whom at the same time Ferry of Vaudemont, sonne to this Earle Anthony, did serue: howbeit finally it was agreed that Duke Rene the prisoner should giue his eldest daughter Yoland in mariage vnto this Ferry of Vaudemont, with the summe of two hundred thousande crownes in the name of a ransome. In the meane time Lewes of Anjou Duke Rene his eldest brother, intending the conquest of Naples, whereof Pope Clemente had crowned him Kinge, dyed without issue, whereof so soone as Duke Rene was aduertised, he purposed the possession of the same Realme, but notwithstanding the ayde of most states of Italie, as Genes, Milan and other Potentates, he was by the Spanierdes finally expelled Naples, and forced to retire into France vnto his brother in lawe King Charles the seuenth, whereas after some warre against the citie of Metz, hauing knowledge of the death of his wife Isabell, he resigned the whole gouernement of Lorraine vnto his eldest sonne Iohn, in full intentione to liue the reste of his time quietly and peaceably within his dominions of Prouence and Anjou.

Iohn surnamed of Calabre, after he had gouerned Lorraine eighteene yeres dyed, leauing a sonne named Iohn of Anjou, who in the time of his grandfather Rene aforesaid, fianced Anne the daughter of King Lewes the eleuenth, albeit afterwarde breaking of with his said father in law through the persuations of the Duke of Burgundye, and entending by repudiating the daughter of France, to conclude a mariage with Marie the said Duke of Burgundyes daughter, being euen at the very point so to doe, he dyed. By meanes whereof Rene the seconde of that name, sonne of Ferrye of Vaudemont brother vnto Duke Rene of Anjou, and of Yoland sister vnto Duke Iohn, succeeded in the said Duchyes of Lorraine and Bar in the yere 1473. for want of other heyres, during the life of his grandfather on
the

the mothers side Rene of Anjou, & of his mother Yoland, whome the inhabitantes of the countrie would not accept for gouernour. This Duke waged continuall warre against the Duke of Burgundye, whome finally he ouerthrewe before Nancy, in whole time liued his great grandfather Rene of Anjou, termed King of Sicill, who rested his old bones within his Duchyes of Prouence and Anjou: him did Kinge Lewes the eleuenth, greatly cherish and quietly entertaine, fearing his association with the Duke of Burgundye and the English men, who greatly thereunto solicited him. This King Rene sent worde to his nephew Rene, that in case he intended to be his heyre, he should wholly take vpon him the full armes of Anjou, which proffer he refused, well was he content to quarter together the armes of Anjou, Sicill, Prouence, and Lorraine. howbeit vpon his other refusall, his grandfather King Rene instituted Charles Earle of Maine his nephew by his brother Charles also Earle of Maine, for his inheritor, whereof Rene being certified, he hasted toward his grandfather, but all being done and past he returned backe againe in a great heat, and King Rene died in the yere 1482. Shortly after also dyed Charles of Maine his competitor, whereby Lewes the eleuenth King of France, remained lord of the countries of Prouence, Anjou, and Maine, by the giste of the last will of the said Charles, who also left vnto him the Duchye of Bar.

After the death of King Lewes the eleuenth, Rene of Lorraine, who through the perswasion of Pope Sixtus was gone into Italie to seeke the conquest of the realmes of Naples and Sicill, and there had continued in wages with the Venitians a certayn space, did now returne into France, there to chalenge his right in the Countyes of Prouence & Anjou, with the Dutchie of Bar. This Dutchy was graunted vnto him, conditionally that he and his successours should for the same doe homage vnto the King of France, who thereby remained soueraine lord ouer the same. but as for the Countyes of Prouence and Anjou, it was answered, that they being parcel of the demaynes of the crowne,

might

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might not fall vnto the distaffe: so that finally by consente of King Charles the eight and this Duke Rene, the contro- uersie was referred vnto the arbitrement of three vmpiers, whiles in the meane time the King committed vnto the Duke a regiment of an hundred men of armes, with the enterainment of fixe and thirtie thousand frankes of yerly pension. Now in the yere of our Lord 1489, the Neopolitanes detesting the tyranny of yong Alphonfus, required the ayde of this Duke Rene, who thereunto prepared him selfe: but duringe his preparation, the three vmpiers afore said pronounced their arreste, wherein it was found that not onely Anjou and Prouence, but also Sicill and Naples did apperteine vnto the King of France, vpon which occasion Charles the eight vndertooke that voyage him selfe. Howbeit notwithstanding this arrest, Yoland mother vnto this Duke Rene, euen after the deceasse of her father Rene the great, did still retaine the title of Queene of Sicill: yea this Rene the seconde chalenged the title of King of Sicill and Ierusalem in the name of the conquestes of his ancestors, causinge his eldest sonne Anthony to be called Duke of Calabre, still quarteringe the armes of Anjou with his owne, for which his presumptiō, together with diuers other his practises, Kinge Lewes the twelue th sto making him, expelled him out of France, and tooke away all his pensions: but he founde meanes to be reconciled, and afterward dyed as he rode on huntinge, hauing remained Duke fixe and thirtie yeres. This man had by his second wife named Philippe, the sifter vnto the Duke of Guelderland, twelue children, of whom seuen dyed in their youth, whereby he left only fixe, who all were sonnes, named Anthony, Claude, Iohn, Lewes and Francis.

Anthony succeeded his father in the Duchyes of Lorraine and Bar, also in the Countye of Vaudemont and Marquisat of Ponte: and by the death of this Charles Duke of Guelderlande his mothers brother, in the said Duchye of Guelderlande, and in the Countye of Zutphan, leauing behind him three children: Francis who succeeded in his dominions,

CARDINAL OF LOR.

minions, Anne married vnto the prince of Orange, and Nicolas, first bishop of Verdun, and afterwarde of Metz, and finally (as presently he is) earle of Vaudemont, and at this the present father in law vnto Henrye the third King of Frāce.

Francis the successeur of his father Anthony, had by Christian the daughter vnto the King of Denmarck, issue, one sonne named Charles, and two daughters.

Charles the seconde, and sonne vnto Francis, succeeded his father in the yere 1545. and presently liueth, hauing to wife Claude the daughter of King Henrye the second by whom he hath diuers children now liuing.

Claude, the second sonne of Rene Duke of Guise and Baron of Ginuile, repayred vnto the French courte, where in short space he obtained the gouernement of Champagne and Burgundye, and marrying Anthoynet of Bourbon aunt vnto the late King of Nauarre he had by her, issue six sonnes, namely Francis, Charles, Claude, Lewes, Rene, and the great Prior of France: of whom, but especially of Francis, who after his father was Duke of Guise, and finally slayne by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans, and of Charles afterward Cardinall of Lorraine, we wil hereafter speake with more largelye, not omitting what so may be incident touching the other brethren, of whom Claude obtained the Dutchie of Aumale, and was slaine at the siege of Rochel, Rene enioyed the Marquisat of Allebeuse, Lewes was created Cardinall of Guise, and the yongest was made great Prior of France.

John the thirde sonne of Rene, and bishop of Metz, was through great sute vnto Leo the tenth electe Cardinall in the yere 1518, and afterward being ordinarily resident in the French courte, obteyned great fauour with King Francis the first, for he neuer medled with matters of estate, but passed ouer his time in pleasure.

The other two sonnes, namely Lewes and Francis dyed in the warres, the one in the realme of Naples, and the other at the battayle of Pauie.

Duke Anthony the first sonne, was of a reasonable good disposition,

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disposition, and voluntarily came vnto Dijon vnto King Francis, and there did him homage for the Duchye of Bar, shewing him selfe very sorye for his offence which he had committed in seeking to defraude the same King Francis of the Duchye of Gueldetlande, which he pretended to fall to him by succession in the right of his mother. For he had practised by one Iames Canis the Borowmaster of Nemegue, to rayse the commons, and keepe the said King out of his possession: but then seing that the people would not accept him, but had submitted them selues vnto the Duke of Cleuelande, he sought all meanes possible to be reconciled, & to cure this skarre, which through the helpe and fauour of his brother Iohn, Cardinal of Lorraine, he soone brought to passe, and King Francis did cleerly pardon, and forgiue him.

This Cardinal Iohn was the iollyest encrocher of benefices aliue, as might plainly be perceiued by the estate wher into he brought the whole French Church: but because he otherwise was of a reasonable courteous disposition, a great spender, and therewithall very liberall, all was taken in meetly good parte.

The third brother who was Duke of Guise, and father vnto this Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine with the rest, was neuer put in any great credite, neither had the charge of any waightie affayres committed vnto him. For his leading of the Kinges power without his loue or leaue into Lorraine to the succour of his brother Duke Anthony, who, as the talke went, was sore overlayed with Anabaptistes, was taken in very euil parte, and him selfe (had not the Constable at that time great master and Marshal of France entreated for him) would King Francis haue committed vnto prison and hardely dealt withal: For King Francis was such an one as would not permit those who without his owne liberalitie were of them selues of no reputation, so farre to encroche vpon his auctoritie, as appeared at another time, when the said Lord of Guise being gouernour of Burgundye, sought to enter into the castle of
Auffonne,

Auſſonne, which at that time was a ſeuerall charge, and in the cuſtodie of a french gentleman of the retinewe of the Marquiſe of Rotelin, named the Lord of Rouueray, who withſtoode him & forbade him the entrie therinto, which the ſaid de Rouueray durſt not haue done, in caſe the ſaid Lord of Guiſe had bene a prince, who for that cauſe complained vnto King Francis, but he for that deede greatly commended the ſayd gentleman, and laughed to ſcorne him, who vndertooke the perſon of a prince of his blood. This Duke pinched to the quicke, and did extremely perſecute diuers marchantes of the beſt townes of France, but finally beginning with the marchants of Paris, who hitherto were not accuſtomed vnto the raſor, the whole citie tooke vpon them the matter, and cauſed his commiſſions to be reuoked, imprifoning ſome of his promoters, whereat the reſt vaniſhed away like ſnow againſt the ſunne: for which cauſe he cōceiued ſo grieuous an hatred againſt the inhabitants therof, that neither for dearth or plenty, what abundance of corne, wine, or other victuals ſo euer there were within the cōtrey of Champagne or Bourgundy, during his gouernement of either of them, the ſaid citie of Paris could euer come by any, either for money or loue without plentie of letters of marre, which were ſweetely payed for and deerely bought. howbeit by that meanes he neuer after durſt deale with any whole eſtate or communalty, not that he therefore quite quayled, but ſtill hauked after conſiſcations here and there, and ſo lightly mette with one or other: wherefore his whole rigourous force he executed ouer the inhabitants of his owne iuriſdiction, whom he euen ſlaied with al extremitie, which was the cauſe, that King Henry through his fathers aduice, would neuer after commit vnto him any matter of weight, although his two eldeſt ſonnes the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorraine did beare great ſway, for he was at that ſtaye, that cōducting his children vnto the court gate, he there left them, and ſo returned backe againe, whereof I doubt whether the father or children ought moſt to haue

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bene ashamed: Finally this man dyed through poyson, and as became a good Christian, pardoned those persons who mistaking him for an other, had hastened the course of his dayes.

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His childré did his brother Cardinal Iohn aduãce, who seing him selfe furnished w many benefices, chose Charles to be his succellour, whom a fewe yeres he maintained in the college of Nauarre, from whence he was preferred to the gouernment of the Dauphine. For although in France were no want of men farre more meet to yndertake such a charge, and execute that function, yet did the credit of his vnclé Iohn procure this fauour at the handes of the great King Francis, together w some tokens of his quick wit and capacitie herein, al which notwithstanding, during y reigne of the said great King Francis, they were not of any estimatiõ: For this Charles was simplie named lord of Reims, & his brother Frãcis, Earle of Aumale, their father being yet liuing, & the rest of the brethré were forced to preferre & thrust the selues forward with might & maine. Again, King Francis was not ignorant that these men might stirre vp coales and procure some broiles, ynder pretence of the counties of Prouence and Anjou, and so trouble the state, vpon which causes he credited them no further then needes he must. In deede he so highly honoured the beautie of their eldest sister, as that he permitted her at the entrie of Queene Eleanor to be attired, in Princeesse araye, although afterward perceiuing these strangers to preuaile as if they had alreadie bene Princes of France, he denied the wife of the Marquise of Maine of the mantel royal. It is not also vnknownen how the same King, toward his end made but final accompt of the Constable, who therefore withdrew him self vnto his owne house, the chiefe occasion of which displeasure arose of that, that through the commendation of the said Constable, his sonne the Dauphine Henry had reteined into his fauour the said Lords of Guise, the consequence whereof he doubted. Their alliãce also vnto the daughter of the great Seneschal of Normandie,

die, whom at that time the said Dauphin kept, caused that the same King Francis who before had highly favoured her, did now also disdain and dislike her. This Ladie who was called the great Seneschal, was daughter vnto the late Lord of S. Valliers, and with her owne maydenhead redeemed her fathers life, but afterward to the great reproche and slander of our France, after she was halfe spent, was giue to the Dauphine Henrie, whose heart she so stedfastly wonne, as that finally she was created Duchesse of Valentinois, and in effect became Queene of France. Whereupon the house of Guise accompting her as a conuenient bridge, by the which they might passe ouer into France, did think it meete to take holde of so good an occasion, although it were in effect but an homelie shift, and therefore procured the marriage of their thirde brother, afterward Duke of Aumale, vnto the yongest daughter of this said Seneschal, by whose meanes, they the further insinuated them selues into King Henries fauour, vpon whom in the meane time they practised two seuerall drifts, wherein we may as in a glasse behold the rest of their behauiours toward the estate of France.

First by meanes of this Seneschal they presumed so farre, as to attempt to wrest from the Dauphine Henrie a promise of restauration vnto the counties of Prouence and Anjou, as part of a dowrie toward this their brothers marriage: Howbeit as God doeth for the most part, euen by the simplest persons abate the pride and crueltie of the mightiest, so likewise did he now cause the onely countenance of the Lord de la Chesnay to force the most shamefully, and euen as it were in despite of their hearts, to release this grant, being in this only respect to be accompted happie, that through the throwing of the same into the fire, they did also therewithal consume and reduce into ashes the assured prooffe and manifest detection of their trayterous fellonie, considering that in case King Francis had but once had anie inckling of the same, it would haue bene the vtter extirpation and vndoing not

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onlie of them selues, but of the great Seneschal also.

Let vs now therefore proceede vnto the second point which was this. On the one side King Francis not long before his deceasse was much accompanied with two persons of whome he made great accompt: The one was the Cardinal of Tournon chanceler of the order, and Master of his chappel: The other was the Lord Annebaut Marshal and Admiral of France, and besides both these there was the Constable also, who notwithstanding he came not to the court, yet did he reteine the office of great Master of France. On the other side the Dauphine was entangled with the Ladie great Seneschal, vpon whom two of the brethren of Guise did continually attend, namely Francis Earle of Aumale, and Charles Lord of Reims because of the alliance aforesaid, al which notwithstanding, yet was he most addicted vnto the Lord of S. Andrews, whose father had bene his gouernour. Now then seing that the sicknes, whereof the late King Francis the first died, was long and in most of the phisitions opinions in maner incurable, the Lords of Guise perswaded the aforesaid Dauphine that so sone as he had gotten possession of the crowne, he should set forth an edict, the contents whereof were, that no man should from thence forth retaine in his hands two offices, by meanes of the which they promised vnto them selues the spoyle of the noble men aforesaide, besides that vnder colour thereof they might haue free accessse vnto the handling of the whole estate, and so in time atteine vnto their aspiring drifts & purposes, and that the rather, because they perceiued none of the Princes of the blood ouer hastie to intrude them selues thereinto.

Howbeit now before we go any further, we haue to consider two other notable chāces which happened presently at the death of King Francis afore named. This King lying on his death bed, called for his sonne the Dauphine to the end familiarly to talke with him. In which communication like as the soule approaching vnto his departure, is for the most part more free and deuoyde of worldly cares, earthly burdens

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burdens and al other transitorie affaires; and so consequently lesse tied vnto the bodie, also that in maner al men in that extremitie, time and place do entreat vpon more mystical and heauenly matter, then before time they are wont, yea diuers through a certaine prescience of things to come, which surpasseth mans natural vnderstanding and reason, do prognosticate of that that is most likely to happen: euen so now among diuers other aduertisements and notable instructions which this King gaue vnto his sonne, one was, that he desired, yea and charged him not to deale with the Children of Guise, neither to permit them to haue any rule in the affayres of the estate: For saith he, I haue manifestly perceiued and am wel assured that the whole stock of the is naught, also that in case you transgresse this my precept, they are to strip you into your doublet & your subiectes into their shirtes. This admonition deserued both to be marked & put in excution, but the simplicitie of the Dauphine being bewitched by this Seneschal together & Gods heauy displeasure against Frâce, would not permit the childe to followe his fathers counsaile, which in this case proued but ouer true, for his affirming the whole race of them to be naught, did shortlye after proue it selfe certaine: The same day that this great King Francis let his life at Rambouillet, whereas the Dauphine for very sorowe and grieve, seeing his father lie in such extremitie, and therewithal being in a maner overcome, was layed downe vpon his wiues bed, who the whiles sat vpon the floore shewing great tokens of anguish and heauines, the great Seneschal & the Duke of Guise who yet was but Earle of Aumale walked there also, although contrarily affected, for she was very pleasant and ioyful, seeing the time of her triumph drawe on, and he stil from time to time walked to the doore to hearken after newes, vsing alwayes at his returne this phrase, Now the yonker goeth his waies, but had not that yonker, (seing it pleased him so to tearme him) bene, both he and the rest of his whole familie had bene but simple vnder-

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lings in Lorraine still.

But now to our former matter, let vs marke the execution of the forenamed edict, concerning retaining of sundrie offices. The same being concluded vpon, & King Francis dead, was put in practise before it was eyther sene or published. For presētly the Lord of Reims displaced Cardinal of Tournon of his office of Chancellor of the order, who in displeasure resigned to the his mastership of the chappel also: The Admiral d' Annebaut loste his office of Marshalship: likewise nowe therfore I wil procede to the Great Mastership, for the obtaining whercof the Guisians were importunate, mouing King Henry to write vnto the Constable that before his cōming to the court, he should by proxy resigne one of his offices, either the Cōstableship or els the great mastership, for they supposed that he would stil kepe the Constableship as being of greare auctority & credite. But were it that the King was at that time determined to exempt his gossippe from their ambition, or els that he sought through the others voluntarie resignation to cōferre the said office vnto the Marshal of S. Andrewes, to whome he had already broken his minde, to the end by such ordinary meanes to suppressse some part of the furious attemptes of the Earle of Aumale and his brother, or what other occasion soeuer there were, yet certain it is that he wrote to the said Cōstable with al speed to reparaire to him, but not to resigne any of his estates, referring that vnto their owne priuate communication at their next meeting. After his cōming the King who before euen burned with earnest zeale & desire to see the said Constable, who so long had bene absent out of his sight, was now so farre frō taking from him any of his estates, that contrariwise at their first embrasings he professed him self to be ashamed that he had in his hands no office worthy his person, & therefore in respect of such default, the more to honour his welcōming, he yelded and presented vnto his said gossip his owne person. Now the Lord of Reims had gotten the great scale, and the Earle of Aumale had seased
vpon

vpon the keies of the castle, as a seafine fallen to him euen by succession: But hearing the King call to the one to render the keyes, and command the other to carry the scale vnto the great master, whereby they should be driven necessarily to slepe vnder the locke of the said great Master, walke at the comādemēt of the Constable, & not in any wise to deale in matters of estate without the said gossips permission, it may be easy for eche man to comprehend into what part the affections of these brethren were bent: Seeing also at the same instant an other estate of Marshal of France erected to the behoofe of Iames of Albon lorde of S. Andrews, which was euen the last office that remained in the Kinges hands, vpon the which as vpon his last refuge, the Earle of Aumale had fixed his whole hope and truste.

This therfore hath bene one of the foundations & rootes *Their* of their quarell against the Constable and his progenie, *gratitudo* wherein besides their manifest iniurie offered vnto their *toward* owne persons, in this respect, they haue also shewed them *Consta* selues verie vnthankful toward the said Constable: For it is not vnknown vnto all those, who duringe the reigne of the great King Francis had anie dealings in matters of estate, that as wel the father as also the vncles of the said Lords of Guise, had neuer any more assured or faithful friend in France then the said Constable, who long before their comming into that country was alreadie in great creditte and estimation with his Prince, and afterward with incredible fauour did succcede two great masters of France, the one the Lord of Boisy his cousin germaine, the other the Duke of Sauoy his Father in Law, and finally attained vnto the hiest degree next vnder the Princes of the kings blood, that euer any man (of what estate, countrey, or condicion so euer he were) might clime vnto in France. To him onely aboue al other (I say) is the whole generation of Guise bound & beholding for their descent from a Princessse of France and daughter of Vendosme, because that he the said constable was the motioner of the

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marriage betwene their father and mother, who alreadie nothing hoping or once thinking vpon anie so good hap, had begonne to cast his eye toward another Ladie of farre meaner estate and calling. Againe, the onely request and petition of the Constable were of sufficient force in their behalfe, at the returne of King Francis out of Spaine to keepe free their father out of prison, for his leading of the Kings power and forces into Lorraine without the said Kings loue or leaue, yea, and to restore him againe into fauour. Again, after the deceasse of the Kings daughter, who was Queene of Scots, and that the King of Scots was desirous to take another wife in France, the Constable was the only preferrer of the said Lords of Guises sister, the late Queene, mother vnto Marie Stuard now Queene, who by his meanes was preferred before many other both more marriageable and meete for such a man then her selfe. Howbeit I can not denie but that it was necessarie to send her into places vnknownen, for that whiles she remained at Nancy she endeououred to haue forsaken the court of Lorraine, and haue yelded her person vnto the Abbot of Beaulieu great vncle vnto the late Duke of Bouillon, yea had not the Countesse of Lignanges warned the Lady Rene of Bourbon of her determination, she had assuredly departed with the said Abbot into his cloyster of Beaulieu. For the which practise the afore named Abbot was rewarded with the natural courtesies of this race: for after that vpon their fidelities he had yelded him self into their clawes, and that it seemed they had forgotten the wantonnes of their said sister, they procured his murder at vnwares, accompanying their cruelty both with periurie and great ingratitude: For notwithstanding the house of Sedan hath alwaies stood the race of Lorraine in great steade, yet haue the Lords of Guise in diuers wise since persecuted the same.

Now therefore to returne vnto their ingratitude toward the Constable. King Henrie the second comming vnto the crowne in the yere 1546, and hauing, as is afore-said,

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said, committed the whole regiment therof vnto his good gossippe the Constable, did shortly after take the Earle of Aumale, his brother the Lord of Reims, and the Lords of Sedan and of S. Andrewes, and present them vnto the said Constable with these wordes. Gossippe, these scholars do I giue vnto you, to the end they may learne of you, and obey you as my selfe: I pray you traine them vp in my affaires, so that vnder you during your life they may do me seruice. And then turning vnto them he said, I do giue you this man for your father and Scholemaster: him loue and honour, doing whatsoeuer he shal command, for my selfe do accompt him my father, and the most deare friend and faithfull seruant which euer my father had, or my selfe may haue.

Afterward the said Lords of Guises father at his next meeting with the Constable said vnto his sonnes. Behold your father, for my selfe hath he also created: him honour and serue, for we al be bound so to do.

The testimonie also of y^e late Cardinal their vncle, which he gaue in the presence of the Cardinal of Lenoncourt describeth more plainely their dueties vnto the Constable, for it was pronounced in his absence, and they practising some conspiracie against him. Take heede, sayd he, of displeasing that man, for had not he bene, both your father and whole kindred had had enough to do, neither should your selues haue euer attained vnto that estate wherein you are now placed, nor your sister neither: euen my self am in his debt for mine owne promotion, and for whatsoeuer fauour, comoditie or credit that I haue reaped at the hands of the late King. Al which admonitions were neuerthelesse not of sufficient force to restraine them frō practising as wel openly as priuately the ouerthrow of the said Constable, notwithstanding that so long as King Henrie liued, their driftes came but to smal purpose, in deede during the raigne of Francis the second they were euen with him, and paid for their scholing, as hereafter more at large wil appeare.

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The original of the malice of the Guisards against the Admiral of Chastillon.

We haue alreadie spoken of the marriage of their brother the Marquise of Maine vnto the great Seneschals daughter, which was the first roote of their hatred against the Lord of Chastillon, afterward Admiral of France, the which through new occurrences hath since so encreased, that finally they haue brought both him & al his brethren vnto their ends, not yet ceasing from practising the vtter extirpation of al his race and familie, vnlesse them selues may first be dispatched and made away. To begin therefore at the foundation of al these euils, which since haue almost subuerted the whole estate of France: we are to vnderstand that the Constable seeking the preferment of his nephues, did about eightene yeres since procure vnto the eldest brother of the house of Chastillon the degree of a Cardinal, which in that time through ignorance and superstitious zeale was greatly desired among al estates, and afterward did by al conuenient meanes aduance as it were steppe by steppe the other two brethren Iasper and Francis, into al commissions and offices of warfare both by sea and land, by meanes whereof they hauing obtained great credite among the whole nobilitie, it was an easie matter for the Admiral then but Lord of Chastillon, as well through the support of his said vnckle the Costable, as also in respect of the debates and quarels that then were prosecuted betwene the Lords of Dampierre & S. Andrewes, to insinuate him selfe into the especial fauour of King Henrie then Dauphine. This the Earle of Aumale perceiuing, who in those daies was in least reputation with King Francis, he thought it meete for the attaining of the said Dauphines good wil, to ioyne in familiaritie and straight league with the said Lord of Chastillon, which familiaritie dothe of them so firmly obserued for the space of foure or five yeres, that these two Lords could not liue one without ui another, but as a token of their more mutual agreemēt, did both for the most part apparel them selues daily in like sutes of raimēt. In the meane time it so fel out y the father of these Lords of Guise, purposing the preferment of his familie by Ca

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al meanes possible, sought to ioyne his third sonne the Marquise of Maine in marriage vnto the yongest daughter of the great Seneschal, the mother being as then the Dauphines harlot. Of this marriage the Earle of Aumale could in no wise like, and for that cause searing to prouoke the Dauphine against him selfe, he brake the matter vnto his companion the Lord of Chastillon, desiring him, as his especial friend, to giue him some good counsaile how he might herein behaue him selfe, affirming, and that euen with teares, that whatsoever might happen, he could neuer giue his consent thereunto. The Lord of Chastillon seeking to comfort him, endeouored to appease him, and after diuers debating of the matter betwene them, their resolute determination was, *that better were an inch of authoritie with honour, then a whole fathome with shame.* Howbeit after this resolution, the Earle of Aumale did so farre stray from following the aduice wherein before he had so obstinately persisted, that now to the end to displace the said Lord of Chastillon out of al fauour with the Dauphine, he shewed the Marshal of Vieille ville their cōmon friend, how that he could hardly haue beleued that the Lord of Chastillon had so enuied his honour and aduancement, as thus to haue encouraged him to withstand the aforesaid marriage. This therefore was one occasion of their displeasure, of the rest we wil speake more in place conuenient.

Through this mariage one of the brethren is now prouided for, let vs therefore procede to the preferment of the rest. Duke Rene their grādfather married Margaret the said daughter and onely heire of William Duke of Tancarville of the house of Harcourt in Normandie, by whome they doe enioye the Countie d' Aumale, the Marquisate d'Alençon & al other their possessions in France, except Gisors: But because this ladie was crouchbacked and found barren, he forsooke her, and as is aforesaid, married the Duke of Guelderlands sister, by whome he had issue the Duke Anthony, the Duke of Guise their father, and the Cardinal Iohn their vnclē. Duke Anthony (as they pretend)

The practices of the Duke of Guise for getting of a wife.

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rend) was borne during the life of his first wife, and left a sonne named Francis who was father to Charles at this present Duke of Lorraine, whom at his decease he left very yong, as hauing scarce attained the third yere of his age. Then (as for the most part it stil chanceth, that widowes & orphanes are commonly entangled in the snares of the wicked and couetous) the Earle of Aumale began to bestirre him seeking to haue founde a dore open into the Duchy, by publishing Duke Anthony to be a bastard: But seing that he could not wel bring his purpose to passe before he had gotten at the least one foote into the said Duchy, he sought by al meanes possible the marriage of Christian the widowe of the late Duke Francis. Howbeit she being both wise and of good capacitie, according to the nature of a good mother entending the preseruacion and maintenace both of the country and orphane, aspired vnto the custodie of the one through the wardship of the other, and therefore kept this hastie wooer in breath, who through her marriage assured him selfe of the same wardship, which afterward might yeld vnto him a fauourable and honest entrie vnto the possession of this desired Duchie. And therefore presently vpon the marriage of their brother the Marquise of Maine, at these Lords of Guise in triumphant wise hasted into Lorraine there to put the widowe in ful possession of the wardship of her sonne. But so sone as she had gotten her desired pray, she gaue them a rosemarie wipe, dismissing them & sending them away with fleas in their eares, vtterly disapointed of their purpose.

Hauing therefore thus missed of their intent against their cousin germaine, (for the Duke of Lorraines father and they were brothers children) they cast forth their nettes to entrappe their other kinsfolke on the mother side, (for likewise the King of Nauarre and they were brothers and sisters children.) They therefore endeouored to stoppe the mariage betwene Iane d'Albret princeesse of Nauarre & Anthony of Bourbon Duke of Vendosme after
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warde king of Nauarre : But as a widowe standing in some neede of their helpe, could closeely despise them, euen so could a Kings daughter, who regarded not their aid, openly disdaine them: For (said she to King Henry who motioned the matter vnto her) would you my Lord wishe that of her, who by duetie ought euen to cary vp my trayne, I should make my sifter in Law ? either that the daughter of the Duchesse of Valentinois should go cheeke by ioule with me? with which answere the King found him selfe satisfied, and therefore neuer communed any further with her in that respect, which caused the Guisians from that time forward to bende their whole driftes against him selfe, making him finally to pay for their mariage in maner and forme following.

Hercules d'Este Duke of Ferrara, had a daughter whom he loued better then his owne wife: For it is not vnknown to all the worlde after what maner in her life time he entreated the noble Lady Rene, the daughter of King Lewes the twelfth, cōmonly called *ȝ* father of the people: neither is any mā who had to deale in those daies in matters of estate, ignorant vpon what consideratiōs she was denied vnto so many noble persons who sued for her mariage, & then finally placed in so base estate as was Ferrara. This Duke had I wot not what share in certaine poulders, boulets and munition, with such other like trash which he had bestowed to his owne behoofe, & yet now sought to make our King to pay for the same, which in the time of King Francis he could not doe, for he knew ouerwel what iugling had therein bene practised against him. To be brieft, his right herein did this Duke giue in mariage with his daughter, and King Henry payed for it, whose lenitie made them to waye downe to much on that side, and boldly to vndertake greater matters, whereunto they added yet an other drifte, which was, that accomodating themselues vnto al kinde of pleasures, or delights correspondent vnto the age of the King, they vsed him as a soun-dered horse, or stale, ouer whome they might the farther cast

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cast their sight. I neede not here rehearse their infamous dealings, for the very walles, beds and candlestickes of their house of Reims and other their Manours can beare more then sufficient record thereof, in that they haue (as we may say) euen blushed at such whoredomes, fornications, and baudries as the Guisians haue bene ministers and assistants of.

The Guisians sought to expell Katherine de Medicis.

Thence haue they proceeded forward: For they were so malepette as to counsaile King Henry to send his wife Katherine de Medicis home into Italie, wherupon had not the Constable and Cardinal of Chastillon withstoode their determinatiōs, she had assuredly repassed the Alpes: howbeit afterwarde trusting that she should haue remained barren (which was their whole desire) they yet liued in hope of recouering the Counties of Prouence and Anjou, yea and peraduenture of the crowne of France it selfe which was one cause of their alliāce vnto the daughter of that great Seneschal and manifest harlot, through whose meanes they sought to drinke vp as with a sponge all the substance of this poore kingdome, for the attaining wherunto they first procured to her the custome commonly called, Tilletage (which is as much to say, as an incredible summe of money rising of the renewing of the offices of the whole realme, which summe, if all at once it should be disboursed, would surpasse the prodigalitie of al Princes that euer were) hoping after her to enioye the same themselves.

Their great desires growed upon an harlot.

During these matters, the Lord of Reims gaping after more promotions, whereby he might the better order his intents, through the meanes of the aforesaid Seneschall obteyned fauourable letters from King Henry to Pope Paul the thirde, who in that time curried fauour with all Christian princes, to the end through their ayde to be reuenged of the Emperour Charles the fifth, for the death of his abominable sonne Peter Lewes, whereby also the Lord of Reims (whome the Seneschal called but master Charles) filled his own bagges with the sale of his masters fauour.

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fauour. By meanes therefore of these letters, about the end of Iulie in the yeare 1547 he was created Cardinal, vpon occasion whereof vnder pretence as wel of the Council of Boulogne, as also of many other affaires which him selfe deuised, he vnderooke a voiage into Italie, through other two principal motions. The first was for the concluding of the mariage aforesaid of his brother vnto the Duke of Ferrara his daughter. The other to the end to shew his persón, and so be knowen in Rome, whereby he might in time to come the better order his driftes and deuises. Being there he tooke vpon him the title of Cardinal of Anjou, but into what peril, through that presumptuous folly, he brought him selfe, most men do knowe. For had not the great Seneschal stood his friend, he neuer durst haue shewed his face in France any more, albeit howsoeuer it came to passe, he was compelled to leaue his title of Anjou beyond the Alpes, and at his returne to accept the surname of his ancestours and country, whereupon we shal hereafter cal him (as him selfe hath especially after his vncles deceasse done) the Cardinal of Lorraine.

At his coming home to the court he so laboured king Henry, that the Earledome of Aumale was erected into a Duchie therby to hasten the marriage of his brother Francis vnto the aforesaid Duke of Ferraras daughter, which shortly after was consummate. After this time began they to procure their owne aduancements, and to lay the foundation of their tyrannie ouer al men both riche and poore in France. We wil therefore begin with their vncl Cardinal Iohn, who was the instrument to translate master Charles from the College of Nauarre vnto the Courte. Not forbearing vntil that through his decease he might enriche them with his benefices, they neuer left (especially master Charles) to pluck fró vnder his elbow al that possibly they could, through a kinde of importunatenes not farre different fró meere violence. This good nephue found meanes to make his vncl desirous to forsake the courte, procuring vnto him such seruants as pleased him, and frustrating him

Charles made Cardinal.

The Guisards dealing with Cardinal Iohn their vncl

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him of those which were the most faithful vnder whatsoever colour he thought best, and delt with him in such manner as that to his power, he stripped him euen into his shirt: in so much that shortly a sudden death (for he liued ouer long for his nephues commoditie) caried him away, at his returne from the election of Pope Iulius the third in the yere 1550. At that time did his nephue become famous in Rome procuring a Cardinals hat for his brother the Cardinal of Guise, the ouerliuer of al the six brethren, at which time also was ended & consummate the aforesaid marriage of the eldest brother vnto the daughter of Ferrara.

Hauiug thus vnclothed their vncle before he were ready to goe to bed, let vs consider how they handled him after his death. This man dyed indetted vnto many marchants, but especially of Paris, leauing such welth in moueable goods as was great, yea and more then sufficient to haue discharged al. After his deceasse, his creditors drew toward his nephue the Cardinal of Lorraine, who together with the Cardinal of Guise had raked vp al his liuings, but himselte alone had seased vpon al the moueables, to whom he answered that he was not his heire: For such men doe neuer accompt him heire, who seaseth vpon the goods, &, as the practitioners do tearme it, do medle with the inheritance, but him onely, who saith, I am he. But now no man spake that word, for the Cardinal of Lorraine ment to haue the goods of free cost, and as for his brethren, they would not pay because they had not the goods. Againe it is not vnknownen that benefices by a certain rigour of Law are not chargeable with the dettes: If therefore the said Cardinal of Lorraine had at the first willed most of them to looke for nothing, yet in losing of their dettes, they should haue bene good gainers, for then should they haue saued both their time and cost, which they wasted in wayting almost two whole yeres, to know the end of this fetch which he caused one of his men to playe, to whome he gaue cōmission to peruse the dettes of the party deceased,

and.

and the same to verifie, and set in order as he rearmed it, with other such like rearmes of practise which stul were in this commissioners mouth. In the meane time they do make an inuentory saith one, a description saith an other, a remembrance sayth another, but whatsoeuer it were, among al the dead mans mouables, was to be found in the end, nothing by the report and conscience of his nephue saue a few olde stooles and settles, with a litle rotten tapestrye good to make sport with al, which to be brieft, was the whole inuétory of al that, that the Cardinal would not haue: But the sport was to heare his talke hereupon. Whensoever the merchants of Paris came in his presence Me thinketh (would he say) these fleas do bite me. an other time, Tush they be Englishmen, Saluters, or giuers of good morowes. Againe comming to the particulars, To one, he is an vsurer of Paris, to an other, he hath not yet deliuered his wares, to an other, he sould it for six times more then it was worth, to another, he hath receiued some money in part of payment, to another, Nothing is dewe, signifying you get nothing, which title comprehended the greatest number. But vnto those to whome he shewed greatest fauour, he vsed to say, Help to paye your selues, not meaning Hold forth your hands and take, but giue and acquite: For when a man had forgiuen halfe, or two third partes, yea three quarters and more, yet looking vpon his booke, he should finde no more receiued, then that which he had acquitted and forgiuen. And for the rest, Aske would he say some composition, some right or priuiledge, or some other thing of the King, and I wil healpe you vnto it, which was as good as if he should haue sayd to the merchats, Go euery one of you kil one or two, and I wil procure your pardons, for the sale of the settels, stooles and tapestry was put of vntil the day after domes day. Wherevpon two notable marchants among other, beholding this shamefull dealing, did after diuers motions finally offer, to acquite the party deceased of al his dettes for one quarter, or at the most, a third part of the yerely reuenue of al his benefices,

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fices, and yet could come to no end: part of them neuer-
theles did finally obtaine, some a quarter, others a fifth
part, others a tenth part, some more, some lesse, but the
greatest number coulde get nothing at al. And yet for so
much as ech one did acquitte, al, or at the least the most
part, were driuen to giue acquittance as for money recei-
ued, to what end ech one may sone perceiue: namely to de-
fraud the creditors of their honour, & the Cardinal of the
remembrance and thinking vpon their liberalitie. Thus by
litle and litle, he dispatched away the Marchants of Paris
and such others, to the end the more easily to fight against
the mightiest, and generally against al the estates of the
realme, whome he and his brethren must necessarilie sub-
due, before they can attaine to touch the white whereat
they do leuel their shot.

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They had wrested a promise from King Henrie whiles
he was Dauphine, whereby when he were King, the Coun-
tie of Prouence and Duchie of Anjou should retorne in-
to their hãds: But because the General de la Chesnay had
therfore clawed them to the quicke, that matter lay stil
vntil the Kings entrie into Angers, for then they begun a-
fresh to quarel this Duchie, desiring the only title thereof
for one of them: Howbeit one only frowning looke of the
Constable did quite so ouerthrowe them, that from that
time they neuer durst once open their mouthes any more
for that matter.

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In the meane time therefore, they went another way to
worke, which was, by seeking openly to become princes, &
both openly & secretly to suppress the princes: To which
effect their practises haue bene of long continuance, and
as strange as possibly might be, as by the onely historye of
the late Prince of Conde is most euident, and our selues
wil heere and there shew by diuers particularities worthy
to be remembred.

First, in as much as neither the worthines of their blood
neither their family could preferre them before diuers
french gentlemen, but only the prerogatiue of their lands:
therefore

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therfore to couer the default of their race, they haue caused to erect their simple baronages into Duchies, principallities, Marquisates and Counties, which is the thing that hitherto hath blinded the eyes of the commons, who are vtterly ignorant of matters of estate.

Secondly, they haue endeououred to make the estate of the Peeres (for the Cardinal was one) equal vnto the Princes, yea, euen to preferre the said Peeres before the Princes, whereupon happened in the yere 1551 a notable matter, as thus. The court of Parliamēt of Paris, had sent six of the chiefeft members of their body vnto King Henry, to vnderstand his wil and pleasure concerning certaine articles, whereof one was.

The second point is to enquire of the King, whether it be his pleasure that my Lordes the princes of the blood, with other great Lords entring into the said Courte, may weare their swordes. For time out of mind that hath bene lawful for the King onely, as an especiall prerogatiue of his Royal dignity, who hath the hād of iustice, as being iustice himself, & mainteyning in assured safety the ministers of the same. And notwithstanding sundry times some princes or lordes haue entred with their swordes, that hath bene only when comming sodenly they haue founde the dore open, or els by entring at vnwares: either haue so done by the Kings expresse commandement, at such time as he hath bene displeased, or prouoked to wrath against his said Court, vpon some other occasions, whereof neuertheless no rule or custome ought to take place: For contrariwise & late King Francis, when he was Dauphin, together w the Lord Charles of Bourbon comming in, left their swordes at the dore, which order King Lewes the twelfth caused stil to be obserued. This iudgement of that courte, which according vnto right and equitie preferreth the princes before al lords whomsoeuer, together with the sitting to this day obserued in the same, and the arrest pronounced against their father, did so grieuously moue the Lords of Guise, that to the end to breede some debate &

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contrarietie, betweene the iudgement of the King & of his said Court of Parliament, also to augment their owne credit, and so by litle and litle to exalt them selues aboue the Princes, they closely practised that wheras the secretary, accomodating himselfe vnto the request of the court & the order in the same obserued, had in his rowl (as himself hath since testified) named the princes first, they were neuertheless in the Kings answer placed after the Peeres in maner folowing. The Kings pleasure is that when soeuer in his absence the Peeres of France, the princes of the blood, the Constables and Marshals of France shal come & enter into his Court of Parliament, & into the chamber of Audience, whether the dores be open or shut, they shal neuertheless stil weare their swordes, the which the said King meaneth not that any other of what estate or calling soeuer he be shal doe. Giuen at Fontainebleau the last day of August in the yere. 1551. signed Henry, and contresigned Du Thier.

Thirdly, they practised a wonderful subtiltie, whereby with the time to yelde a kinde of prescription vnto such principalitie as they sought to vsurpe. which was in seeking to allye themselves on al sides, in the most high and riche maner that possibly they could, and so to flyde in among the princes, and beare the like port as they. As also at the entry of King Henry into the towne of Suse, Francis Duke of Guise presumed to marche cheeke by ioule with the King of Nauarre the first prince of the crowne. Also at king Francis the second his first comming forth of his chamber in his mourning weed, the said Lord of Guise intruded himselfe betweene two princes of the blood, to the ende with them to beare vp his traine. Againe, during the reignes of Henry the second, Francis the second and Charles the ninth, and euen at this present also euery man both hath scene and plainly may beholde, with what presumption the house of Guise both haue and stil do encroche aboue the said princes of the blood, whom they haue oppressed and troden vnder foot, as we will more plainly declare, after that we haue yet touched a few matters more, tending

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ding vnto the discouery of their raging ambition in this respect.

Fourthly, the house of Guise being thus aduanced, grew very suspicious and ielouse of their honour, stoutly opposing the selues against al such as withstode their attépts, as is manifest in this. The Fréchemen doe so highly reuerence their princes, that as they are not to be accópted wronged, or in their honours diffamed for any thing that their said princes either doe or say vnto them, so doe they also neuer set hand to their sword against the said princes, notwithstanding that any other of what estate or calling so euer he be, stranger or Frenchman, ought to take heede of misusing the person of any French gétleman, vnlesse he presently be minded to receiue at the handes of the partie misused, as much, or rather more then he hath done or said vnto him. Now the more that the lordes of Guise haue sought to become as Princes of France, the more resistance haue they founde, especially duringe the reignes of Francis the second, and Charles the ninthe, neither being as yet quite free from the same, as in place shall be shewed. Let vs therefore consider some examples of the time of Henry. The lord of Rochefort, yongest sonne of the house of la Roche-guyon, was on a time chalenged man to man in the Kings garden at Fountainbleau, by Francis Duke of Guise, whereas in their talke he shewed the said Duke, that he accompted him not as a prince of France, whereof he also afterward made him more plaine demonstration, when as at the onlie countenance, that the Duke of Guise made to set his hād vpon his dagger, he the said lord of Rochefort, who was no knight of the order, as now he is, set as sone his hande to his sworde, and thereby made him to be quiet: which deede both the King and Princes did wel allowe of. This resistance caused that the same Duke of Guise (who thought that the lorde of Montmorency, against whom he had a quarell, notwithstanding he were not as yet Marshall, would doe no lesse then the other) on a time suborned his great companion the Duke of Nemours, and the

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prince of Ferrara, at a place neere vnto the castle of saint Germain, shortly after the Constables returne out of imprisonment, and then went and plucked the said lord of Montmorency by the cape in the Queenes chamber (the meaning whereof is not vnknowne vnto the gentlemen) who presently without speaking vnto any man, arose and followed him out of the castle to the place appointed, where he made him an answer correspondent vnto his demande, accompting him therein no otherwise for a Prince then before time: which afterward he shewed him more euidently at Paris (Kinge Charles the ninthe being there the same time that the meeting was about the edicte of Iulye) in a controuersie concerning an ayrie of haukes of the forest of Compiene, which the said lord of Guise chalenged by prerogatiue: but the said ayrie finally remained vnto the lord of Montmorency. It is not vnknowne again how the Presidēt Liset in this point diuers times withstood them: for once in the full audience at the Parliament of Paris, he caused to correct y^e qualitie of y^e Prince, which the Duke of Guise in a certain cause had taken vpon him. An other time in the presence of King Henry, he affirmed vnto the Cardinall of Lorraine that he was no Prince, neither ought to take place among Princes. Again at another iourney before the said King, in a foolish brablinge which the Cardinall made, the same President Liset vsed vnto him these wordes. My sonne and friende, you are yet to yong to vnderstand those matters, which are no vsuall speeches to be said to any Prince of France, yea he added moreouer these wordes, You are no Prince, neither equall with Princes, if therefore you be determined to take vpon you that title, shew vs also the places of your Principallitie. This yong sonne was aboue fīue and twentie yeres olde, & already both Peere and Cardinall. The aforesaid court of Parliament did also an other time by sentence definitiue, expulse the Duke of Guise these mens father from his fore sitting, which by reason of his Peereshippe he chalenged aboue a prince of France. All which notwithstanding their
hautinesse

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hautinesse in this point, brake out openlie in diuers wise during sixteene or seuentene moneths, whilest King Francis the seconde reigned, whereof we must necessarily here note also some particularities.

Immediatly after that King Henry was deceased, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinall of Lorraine conueyed King Francis the second, his brethren, & the two Queenes into the Loure, leauing the Princes of the blood, and the rest of the great lordes of the Realme, which were not of their faction, behinde to keepe the dead corps: whiles in the meane time, them selues permitted no man to come neere the said Francis, or to speake vnto him, vnlesse at the least one of them were still in presence, and that so diligently, that they neuer let him goe out their sightes. Then did they also driue away the Constable, and displaced all such as they liked not of, causing the King to say whatsoever them selues listed. They found honest pretences to dispatch away the Princes of the blood, by sending one into Flanders, another into Spayne, and so of the rest, hauing continually secret seruants and priuy spies about them. They changed the estates and officers of the Kings householde, orderinge them selues with such violence, that a man might (as it were at hie noone) perceiue their intentes. We will now therefore orderly shew you what people withstood them, and in what maner: For such particular resistance was to small purpose, in respect of that which followed.

We must now therefore consider, to what estate their ambition haue brought the affaires of France, being accompanied with couetousnes, crueltie, vngodlines and manifest villanye. I say therefore, that since the time that they were exalted by meanes of the Seneschall, considering also that their children be of a troublesome and peruerse disposition euen to the ende, they neuer desisted from persecuting all sortes of people high and low in this Kingdome, whereby to satisfie their aforenamed passions: yea for want of meanes and opportunitie to persecute them whom they

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doe hate, they haue bent their whole rage against them selues, in so much as it is doubtfull to whom they haue done most displeasure, whether to their friends or enemies.

We will therefore beginne with such mischiefes as they haue practised, first against our Kinges, then against the Princes of the blood, afterward against the great lordes of the Realme, and so consequently we will proceede to the estates, namely the Nobilitie, the officers of Iustice, the people, the Clergie, their fauorites and friends, and finally vnto their owne iniuries among them selues: setting forth the whole in as brieue maner as possibly we maye, desiring the readers to quote downe in their bookes, whatsoeuer they perceiue that we haue omitted, to the ende to participate the same vnto the posteritie, which thereby shall be occasioned for to abhorre the miserie of France, which hath suffered and borne so much, with ouer great respect many times of such dangerous monsters. After the same maner also, according as shall be incident in the continuation of our discours, we will somewhat touch their vertues, to the ende eche one may know by what tokens to remember them.

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Norwithstanding that at the first they were not ouer busie, neither kept to great a stirre, yet afterward perswading them selues that they had some right vnto the Crowne, they endeououred to make thereunto by all meanes possible, whereof one was by assubiection al the worlde vnder their feet, whereby although they were no Kings in name, yet tarying the time they were so many times in effect. In the time of Francis the first, who was sufficiently acquainted with their humours, they profited not greatly. Afterward in the time of Henry the second, their hornes beganne to shoote out: for he was of a milde disposition, but of small forecaste, and very easie to be led about by the nose: and so was he afterwarde rewarded. For the ambitious couetousnes of the house of Guise replenished Germanie, Italie, France, and Flanders with blood, it set to sale to the most giuer the lawes of iustice, and with infinite exactions

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Etions it soked the purses both of rich & poore. With their insolencies and cursed conspiracies, they haue also defiled the Kings house, wherein they haue erected the scaffolde, whereupon they haue brought in the horrible tragedies of the destruction of France, and there haue heaped vp the stacke of wood, which them selues did afterward so sore kindle, that the flames and coles thereof doe yet remaine. But this we must by litle and litle ouerlooke, wherein we are to recite worde for worde, the lamentations that haue bene made and published long since.

The great King Francis had lefte France in reasonable good estate: but the house of Guise, smelling out a thousand commodities arising vnto them selues by the warres, could not suffer the Realme to continue quyet. It was vnto them a gate to aduancement, as was euident by the heate and violence of the eldest and third brother, whom the Cardinall neuer doubted to hazarde, knowing that howsoeuer things chanced, his enterprise would counteruayle them: again, in case they were more happy then wise, it were an assured meanes to exalte him selfe euen to the hiest place that might be: but if they chanced to be slaine, their death should serue as a bridge for the rest to passe ouer further, so him selfe moreouer, hauing the chiefe superintendence ouer the treasures of the Realme, it was more easy for to fish in pudle then in cleare water. Besides all this, the Cardinall perceiued that by one kinde of meanes, he might both obtaine the fauour of those, of whose quarell he entended the commoditie of his owne race, at the coste of the poore commons, and also shoulde diminish the Kings forces, whose crowne he wished to behold vpon his brothers heade, with the triple Papall crowne vpon his owne. Finally, this was also the assured meane whereby he might hazarde the King, the Princes of the blood, and all other of whose destruction depended the increasing of his honour and power.

These were therefore the goodly occasions of this long and cursed warre, which hath bene dispersed ouer the whole

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whole Realme, whereunto it was no mastery for them to frame the Kings minde, being of him selfe but of small experience, and at his attaining to the crowne, desirous of newe honour and conquest ouer the sworne enemy of France, who at that time hauing (as it was thought) subdued Germanie, seemed terrible to this Realme, vnlesse such his driftes, as he might haue practised there against, were speedily cut of, to which end there were three especiall occasions offered which greatly might hinder him.

The first was the breaking of of the Council of Tridente, whose auctoritie the Emperour vsed, in the vniing of all Germany vnto his deuotion, whereby he might afterward both in Italie, and other where doe what him selfe thought beste.

The seconde was the vndertaking of the restauration of the house of Farneses, whom the Emperour had expelled out of Plaifance.

The third was the practising of the Elector. Maurice and the Marquise of Bradebourges armie, who lying at the siege of Maydenbourg, were greatly moued against the said Emperour, for the detaining of the Landgraue of Hesse, with whom there was some likelyhood that the sonne of the said Landgraue and other Germane Princes would easely ioyne. And notwithstanding that all these three deuises were vtterly repugnant to the Cardinals former profession, which was to be accompted as an assured pillar of the Catholike faith: seing that by the first, he hazarded the King and whole Realme into danger of the Popes curse and excommunication, and so manifestly did withstand the magnificence of the Apostolike seate, whereof he counterfeited so earnest a defender: by the seconde, he troubled the quiet of all Europe: and by the third, did openly ioyne the King in league with the Lutherans, who by that meanes should haue better opportunity to multiply and strengthen them selues then euer before: all which notwithstanding, this fatall enemy both of God and man, would not therefore quayle, or giue ouer his purpose in any

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any of them all, but motioned King Henry, ouer whom he in effect reigned, to practise them all one after another. This was the originall roote of the protestation against the Council, and of the warre of Parma vndertaken against the Pope, for the appetite of this proppe of the Papaltie, and at the excessiue charges of our poore Realme, all for the commoditie of a bastarde childe, who since hath giuen vs a rewarde correspondent to the expectation of all wise men. Hereof proceeded the first causes of all the most wofull and lamentable calamities, that euer our poore Realme of France did endure: for it was finally expedient that this impostume should haue an issue, and that these furies should raise a ciuill warre in Germany, by the which notwithstanding that God hath chastised the iniquities of manye, yet haue there thereof proceeded so many mischiefes and murders, that it is to be marueiled, that the Turke hath not yet taken holde of this occasion, and so passed ouer the bridge which the house of Guise haue builded, and so come euen into our bosoms. From this roote proceeded their voyage into Germanye, whereas they missed of their purpose, for God would not permit that countrey to come in their clawes: howbeit such was their cruelty, that their owne country of Lorraine was the first that felt the force of their rage, receiuing therein a meete reward for bringing forth such children into the worlde. Their first enterprise there was so to be reuenged vpon the Dutchesse the widow of Francis, and mother vnto Charles now Duke, who had disdayned them, that thereby they hoped to haue intrapped the whole Duchye. To which ende they dispersed abroad a thousand slanders against the said widow, bringing her finally into displeasure with King Henry, neuer ceasing vntil that vnder pretence of protection (for the most notable mischiefes doe still beare the fayrest shew) the said King had taken the yong Duke into his hands, in ful hope that hauing the King fauourable vnto them, & the Duke & Duchye, as it were, in their owne hands, they might in time hit the marcke, whereat on that
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side they leueled. But as God in al his works is wonderful, so hath he brought to passe, that the Duke and Duchie of Lorraine neuer found surer or more stedfast foundations, then the same which their cousins of Guise had laid in intent to ouerthrowe them. For King Henrie tooke charge of the childe, and afterward made him his sonne in lawe, committing his Duchie into the hands of his vncle the Earle of Vaudemont. Hereunto adding their practises against the towne of Metz, what farther testimonie shal we neede? For what mischief is there which this poore towne hath not suffered within these fewe yeres, both within and without, being vnder colour of protection, bereaued of her libertie, dismembred from the Empire, for the most part destroyed, and as a fulnesse of al miseries reduced into the bondage of the Cardinal? who vnder a borrowed name, hath yerely wrested therout at the least a hundred thousand francks, leauing vnto our King nothing but the dishonour of surprising the same vnder pretence of defence, the charge of keeping of it with inestimable expenses, the losse of great numbers of Frenchmen, and the hatred of the Empire, which yerely reneweth the decree of the recouerie of the townes of Metz, Thoul and Verdun, expressing therein their desire at the first opportunitie to restore the same to their former liberties. For soone after ensued the siege of Metz aforesaid, whereas the Cardinal fearing his brothers skinne, and seeking to exalte him aboue al men, procured to be sent vnto him most part of the Princes and great Lords of France, for his more assurance, and at the price of their bloods to raise him as it were vnto the shoulders of Victorie it selfe: But what neede we to purchase the triumphe with the offence both of God and man? or at the charge of the Kings honour and treasure? Also, how sweetely haue we paid for this so valiant defence of a forreine towne, which neuer offended vs, vnlesse it be an offence to giue ouer hastie credence vnto the wordes of a Cardinal therein brought vp, whome she accompteth as her bishop and pastor? yea
to

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to speake truely, the Frenchmen haue dearely bought the exchange thereof, through the burning and spoyle of Picardie euen vnto Noyon: when as vnder the conduct of the third brother of this race, and sonne in lawe vnto the great Seneschal Duchesse of Valentinois, the French nobilitie receiued the sorest wound that euer it had since the battaile of Paue, because that without anie reasonable cause they were trained thereunto, as to a butcherie rather then a battaile: For in the same conflict, wherein the said harebrained Duke of Aumale the third brother was through his owne default taken prisoner, there were slaine about two hundred French gentlemen, among whome were sundrie great Lords, as the Lords of Rohan, S. Forgeu, Nancay, la Motte, Dusséau, the Baron of Couches, & of Castres, beside diuers other Lords of name. Had our whole realme susteined that only losse through the conduct of these men, yet were this sufficient to procure al men to detest them. Shortly after this ouerthrowe ensued the siege of Metz aforesaid, from whence the Emperour being forced to depart, the Duke of Guise attributed to him selfe the whole glorie, which the Princes and great Lords of France, whome the Cardinal had procured the King to send thither, had dearely paid for, wherevpon it is wonderful to see how the Guisians triumphed. Wel, to proceede, what did the next yeres following bring with them, other then two double & irrecuperable losses, namely, the vtter sacke and spoyle of Tirwin and Hesdin the two keies of Picardie, by reason whereof the Cardinal sang out his triumphes, scoffing at the French nobilitie, who, said he, through default of his brothers assistance were ouerthrowen by the enemye, perswading the King that he had no man, but of that race, who was sufficient to guide the affaires both of peace and warre. Howbeit the imprisonment of the third brother, whome the Marquise of Brandebourge held, did somewhat restraîne the course of his brags, wherefore they sought with speede to withdrawe him home, to the end the one might heaue forward

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ward the other: and yet were them selues vnwilling to disbourse anie penie of al their briberies and thestes, either to take anie compassion of the French nation, which was deuoured to the hard bones. They inuented therfore an other reasonable honest shift, as they supposed, which was to borowe the Kings name and authoritie, whereby they might vnder pretence of heresie, vexe and torment whome so euer they thought best, to the end to meete with some confiscations. For it seemed not sufficient for him, through his temeritie and rashnes to be the cause of the death of so manie great Lords, and gallant French gentlemen, at his owne taking: but now his ransom must be gathered out of the liues of such as remained, not forbearing the wiues of such good and vertuous Captaines, as in the meane season ventured their liues and goods in the Kings seruice. Whereof the Lord of Teligny might haue bene a sufficient witnes, had he not shortly after lost his life in King Henries seruice: For during the imprisonment of the Duke of Aumale, the vertuous Ladie of Teligny was vniustly accused of heresie, at the instance of a Sorbonist one of the Cardinals stalions, as are the rest of our masters his companions, who be men ignorant of all goodnes and honour, as fierce, cruel and seditious, as any aliue, vsing religion as a cloke to couer their peruersitie, in this respect altogether like vnto the Cardinal of Lorraine the setter of them on worke at the cost of the Kings honour, who for that cause incurred the euil wil of many. In this fetch they disclosed an other of their sleighes, for what with their sponge which was laid close to King Henries ribbes, namely the Duchesse of Valentinois this prisoners mother in lawe, who by al meanes robbed him on the one side, & them selues who ruled the common purse, they wholly spoyled the King both of the loue, and of the goods of his subiectes, araying them selues in the same, perswading him that nothing was wel done, but what them selues did. Yea they waxed so impudent, as to affirme that their brother had verie wel discharged his duetie, also that
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they whom he had led to the slaughter, had in maner be-
traied him, insomuch that the whole fault was imputed
vnto the dead, and he the suruiuer, who had disobeyed the
Kings commandement, who sent him word not to hazard
any thing, after his deliuerie returned to the court, where
by the meanes of his mother in law, he was as much or ra-
ther more cherished and made of, then any of the lustiest
lieutenants that the King had. Thus did they on the one
side laugh King Henry to scorne, whome in the meane
time they had so artificially bewitched, that he accompted
him selfe to haue none more assured or faithful seruants,
then the said lords of Guise, except the Constable, whom
therefore they hated to the death, as they afterward de-
clared in diuers wise.

These warres of Metz were nothing in respect of those
of Picardie, wherof the house of Guise were the kindlers,
which also so long as the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal
had the dealings about King Henry, waxed stil more and
more. yet were they not content to hazarde that part of
the Kings estate, who thereby lost Tirwine and Hefdine
together with many great lordes and gentlemen, besides
prisoners of name: but they also procured to him an other
great blowe in Italie. It is not therefore requisite that we
should here rehearse al our damages, and losse of battailes
wherein were slaine foure or fve thousand Frenchmen,
together with the Captaines and gentlemen of Name:
neither the losse of the citie of Siene, which hath cost this
realme so much money, buried so manie frenchmen, and
beautified Florence with our shame, neither the bringing
of the poore inhabitants thereof into perpetual bondage,
and in a maner viter destruction: for to whome is al this
more iustly to be imputed, then vnto the ielousie of the
said Lordes of Guise who then gouerned al things, (This
happened in the yeres 1554. and 1555.) when they desired
rather to deferre the promised aide, and so to put the
whole armye in despaire, then to suffer it to be reported,
that without them the King had gotten Tuscan, or at the
least

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leastwise compelled the inhabitants to come to such composition as him selfe would haue graunted them.

These Lords of Guise did in the meane time frame sundry conspiracies in Italie, whereby somewhat the more to increase their owne honour: and al with the treasure of the realme, and vnto the Kings confusion. It is not vnknown how they quareled for the crowne of Naples & Sicil, neither how the Cardinal al his life time gaped after the Papaltie, perswading him selfe to procure wonderfull and strange alterations, in case he might once atteine to be God vpon earth. And so soone as the olde Pope was deceased, the Cardinal prouoked through his wonted ambition, went not reasonably, but ranne so fast as possibly he coulde, to catche vp the triple crown, which imaginatiuely with a vaine hope he did already deuoure. At that time did experience teach the French nation, that this man where euer he became, drew al mischief after him. For immediatly after his departure, the Emperour Charles & fifth & King Henry were sone inclined to yelde vnto the better counsels, of such as spake of quietnes to be granted vnto the pore people, in so much & notwithstanding the peace might be cōcluded, yet through the graue aduice of the Constable and the Admiral, there was the fifth day of February, in the yere 1556 an abstinence and truce agreed vpon for fīue yeres. This Cardinal according to his wonted manner, minded not to goe his iourney to Rome at his charge, and therefore had assured King Henry, that in Italie he would practise such leagues against the Emperour Charls, that then he might easely be ouercome, which, the King liking of it, stood the Cardinal in steade, as a couer to hide his ambition and couetousnes, who with many circumstances (stil at the realmes charges) made Hercules the secōd Duke of Ferrara, the Kings lieutenant general in Italie: But his chiefe drift was, to make friends, and entertaine seruants, through whose aide together with the power & treasure of France, he might conquere the Papaltie for him selfe, and the realmes of Naples and Sicil for his brother,

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ther. So soone therfore as he was aduertised of the afore-
said truce, he was with the same greatly displeased, for that
it was the assured death of all his dristes in that respect, in
so much that he could not restraine his speech before di-
uers, but said openly as he passed through Neuers, that
this was not it that the King had promised him: also that
he knew a meane to breake this truce, fully perswading
him selfe so to doe, immediatly vpon his comming to the
Court, which then lay at Bloys: whereas so soone as he
was arriued, and had spoken with the King, he finally ob-
tained through the meanes of his clients, and especially
of Cardinal Carasfa, (whom the Pope had sent to present
the King with a rich sword,) a graunt to breake the truce,
notwithstanding whatsoever reasons the Constable, Ad-
miral and other great Lords could alleage. The Guisians
principal instrument was the Duchesse of Valentinois,
who was to them a bridge both in body and minde, wher-
ouer to passe vnto the Royal throne, for she commaunded
King Henry, and they commaunded her.

Hereby did they intangle the King in open periury, &
the realme in new troubles, procuring the ouerthrow on
S. Laurence day, the taking of S. Quintins, the spoile of
Picardie, and the peace vnprofitably concluded for the
French nation. None but the Guisians hoped for any com-
moditie of this newes: for the eldest of them aspiring vnto
the Crowne of Naples and Sicill, procured for him selfe a
commission, to goe and breake the truce in Italie, accom-
panied with six thousand Swithers, foure thousand Fréch
men, fise hundred men of armes and fise hundred light
horses. It is not vnknownen to al men, that he transported
with him al the best souldiers that he could get, leauing,
according to King Francis prophecie, his sonne Henry in
his doublet, and his subiects in their shirts. For besides so
many men whom he led away, the Cardinal (who had the
oueright of the treasury) had so foked the same, that final-
ly the King was brought to that stay, that through persons
(whō the Cardinals couetousnes had brought forth) inter-

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posed, the King was driuen to borowe the money, which proceeded from his owne treasury. Moreouer the rowles and records of that time, and of the next yere following, wil declare what excessiue rewardes the said Cardinal, & his brother did wrest forth of the Kings lenitie, while in the meane time the commons were vncōscionably pilled, the treasury (as is aforesaid) wasted, the demaines, receits and cities morgaged, the warre reuiued, and the coast of Picardy come into the King of Spaines hands. For the enterprises of Henry, who then followed the onely aduice of the Cardinal, were so wide from prosperous successe, that within short space after, he lost the lamentable battel vpon S. Laurence day, wherein were slaine Iohn of Bourbon Duke of Anghien, the Vicounte of Turaine, besides many other French lordes and gentlemen, the footmen for the most part hewen in pieces, and the Constable taken prisoner, besides a great number of other valiant lordes and gentlemen. Againe, within twelue or fiftene dayes after, was the towne of S. Quintins taken by assault, whereby the King there also sustained a shrewd foyle.

We must not here ouerslippe a testimonie of the Cardinals good wil, toward King Henry and his estate, as this. After the ouerthrowe of S. Laurence daie, the King being destitute of men, money and counsaile, (for as the mischief was, the Cardinal only was left about him) this reuerend father, in stead of helping the King with his goods, or of relieuing his necessitie with such coyne, as he had fished out of the said Kings reuenues, euen the next day after this mischance, enforced the treasurer of the purse to pay him the most part of a summe of fiftene thousand francks, which he pretended to be due vnto him. Throughout the whole realme there remained not so meane an artificer, or so poore a citizen, who was not contributorie vnto the Kings reliefe, and for the same cause was not most extremely delt with al, whilest in the meane time the Cardinal becomming a sergeant, executed King Henry in the chiefeft time of his miserie, and when his affaires were in
greatest

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greatest danger, dalying with the spoyled King with such impatiencie, that he would not forbear vntil the said treasurer of the purse had gathered vp so much money, but draue him to borowe the same summe wherwith to satisfie his request. Also at the same time the king obtained in the name of a gift of the citie of Paris, the summe of three hundred thousand franckes, whereof the Cardinal had the disposing, which, how or whereabout they were employed God knoweth. Let this therefore be sufficiently spoken for a simple prooffe of infinite such like practises, wherby it is to be doubted in which of these two the Cardinal did most exceede, either in vnreasonably hoarding together, or in excessiue appetite to wast al France, which he had chosen as a pray conuenient for his ambition.

But how was the Duke of Guise occupied in Italie, (while the French nobilitie was in the King of Spaines prisons) in laying the foundation of the greatnes (though inuisible) of these our Lords and masters? The Duke had led with him a reasonable number of noble men, and had dried vp al the Kings reuenues, endeuoring in the meane time nothing in Italie, sauing that for the augmentation of his brothers credite, and the practising of conspiracies vnder colour of simplicitie, he went with his famous principallitie to prostitute the dignitie of one of the king of France his lieutenants general in Rome, to dallie among priests, & to make vp a lower messe and last seruice at the table of Cardinals, of whome the chiefe part are but the Popes Marmosets and Apes. Whereupon sundrie haue commended the free stomacke of one of the masters of requests that accompanied him in the said voyage, who misliking of the said Duke of Guises behauour, without anie leaue of the Cardinalitie, sate downe gallantly by the Dukes side, least it should haue bene reproched vnto the Frenchmen, that the Kings lieutenant general had serued as a cloke bearer vnto such lickorous griediguttes of the Popes cauldron, who vpon their owne dunghil do so lightly accompt of Christian Kings and Princes. But what of

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this? It was necessarie that France with the cost and losse of men should put vp yet two iniuries more in Italie. The one by the said Lord of Guise, who left his campe idle, and his masters busines vndone, to the end to loyter and daunce after the Popes court, there to create (as the Cardinals hope was he would) some and so manie new Cardinals after his brothers minde, that in case the Papaltie should be voyd, he might be as certaine to succcede in the said rounge as a Cardinals faith could extend. The other through the follie of the said Duke of Guise, in that in his owne person being a lieutenant general, he permitted his Kings honour and reputation so shamefully to decay: The enemies of the crowne laughed hartily at such his solishe ambition, & the wisest Frenchmen supposed that the King & the Constable had suffred the selues to be intangled in such enterprises, to the end to be released of an intolerable burden, hanging continually vpon their armes through such continual alarmes, as the inconstancie, couetousnes, & vaine glorie of the Guisians did daily minister vnto the Kings affaires, exceeding the cost of two such conquests. Now the Cardinals drift was, so sone as he were Pope, to transport the warres into Naples & Sicil, which conquest was the way to haue ouerthrowen their whole race, or els in achiuing their enterprise (wherein France should haue wonne more then by keeping them vpon her hands as she hath done) to haue bound them selues for their life time about their neckes, a bonde of the maintenance and keeping of their new conquered dominions. Howbeit vnder this pretence the Cardinal pinched at al assaies, insomuch that for this cause and others, he iested with them in good earnest, who so cunningly turned the letters of the name of Charles of Lorraine, that thereby he found this which truely we might reproch vnto him to be most true. R A-
C L E A S L' O R D E H E N R I E, signifying, *Thou hast scraped away al Henries golde.* But hereof we wil speake some what more particularly.

Proceeding therefore in our matter, after the losse of so
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manie men at S. Laurence battaile, together with the taking of the Constable, and other contrarie chances, the Cardinal finding (as he supposed) the best occasion possible offered for the aduancement of his familie, displayed at that present his whole witte toward the execution of his purposes. The first was by making his brother in effect during the reigne of King Henrie, a King : The other so wel to wrappe his yuie about the pinakle, that finally the one might ouerthrow the other, which was by motioning a double alliance: the one, of his niece Marie Stuard Queene of Scots vnto Francis King Henries eldest sonne, the other was of his cousin Charles Duke of Lorraine vnto the Ladie Claude of France. Againe, the Constables absence, of whome the Cardinal stoode in great awe and feare, whom also marueilously he hated, did altogether hearten him on.

As for the first point, the affayres being troubled in Picardie, and the realme voyde of forces, the Cardinal thought it best to cal home those that before were sent into Italie: & the whiles to watch, least any other shuld haue vndertaken the superintendence & ruling of the affaires, hoping (seing the Constable detained) to comit the same into the hands of his brother the Duke of Guise, presently vpon his returne: who about the same time had bene repulsed from before Ciuitella, so that this commandement came fitly to him: The esquire Scipio also was sent to hasten him away, and to wil him to bring his power with him: being come, the Cardinal caused him presently to be sent to Compiegne there to muster the armie, whither as the King shortly after followed him, publishing in the presence of his knights of the order, and Captaines of his armie, that the Duke of Guise was come in fit time to preferue his realme, and minded to haue made him Viceroy, or vnder King of France: but forasmuch as that title seemed strange, he commanded to dispatch him a warrant for the Kings lieutenant generalshippe throughout al the said Kings dominions: the which du Thyer secretarie of

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commandements soone made in such maner as it pleased the Cardinal to deuise, being also afterward receiued and verified by the court of Parliament of Paris, and sundrie other Parliaments of the Realme, whereby the Princes of the blood were contemptuously put backe: as also after the taking of Calais they procured the preferring of the Duke of Neuers before the Prince of Conde, concerning the charge of the light horsemen: Yea, within a yere after, the Marshal Brissac was also preferred before the said Prince of Conde in the gouernment of Picardie.

The Duke of Guise hauing gotten this commission, and men ouer whom to commande, swelled manifestly in pride, whiles in the meane time the Cardinal playing vpon his harpe in the midst of all these broyles lulled King Henry on slepe in the bosome of the villainouse Seneschall. Neuertheles Henry, who on the one parte vehemently loued his gossip the Constable, and on the other parte had not his eyes so ouercome with slepe, but that sometimes he opened them, and so perceiued the Guisians taking ouer highly vpon them, whereat he finally begun somewhat to be displeased with him, not refrayning from discharging presently part of that which afterward he considered more largely of: for he excused him self toward his gossip, secretly certifying him, that he had bene compelled to make the Duke of Guise his Lieutenant general, also to agree to the mariage of the Dauphine, with many other things against his will, but that the time should doe him right.

of the This mariage of the Dauphine was in this wise. The Cardinal perceiuing no man at the court able to controlle him: his brother vpon his returne out of Italy, & the Constable prisoner, began to motion the mariage of his niece the Queene of Scots: for the compassing whereof he propounded that the King might during his owne natural life, behold as well his sonne a crowned King, as the Emperour Charles had in his time seene his sonne Philippe crowned King of Englande. He procured also the estates of Scotland to hasten this matter, solliciting them thereunto by

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by the lord of Oisell, who had the superintendence of the Queene dowagers affaires in that countrie. Also to the ende to cause the Queene of France to condescend vnto this mariage, who still alleaged that he neede not be so hastie, seing both the parties were in the Kings hands, & besides that her sonne the Dauphin was yet to yong, and not all the best at ease, he began to shew him selfe enemy vnto the great Seneschall Duchesse of Valentinois, and her to blame so much as in him lay, as disdayning the remembrance of her allyance, no longer remembring (or at the least counterfeiting forgetfulness) that she had bene the only ladder whereby both he and all his brethren had gotten vp so high. This did he, thinking it the readiest way to winne the Queenes heart, who mortally hated the said Duchesse, and not without cause as all the world knoweth. To be briefe, this practise so well serued his tourne in the aduancement of his businesse, that within seuen moneths after the taking of the Constable, this mariage was accomplished, & thence forth Francis was called King Dauphin, and so consequently the lords of Guise the Kings vncles.

The taking of Calais, the enterprise whereof the Constable, the Admirall, and the lord of Senarpont had long before deuised and forecasse, augmented the hatred conceiued in King Henry his heart against the Duke of Guise. For hauing often heard of the easinesse of the same, he had many times purposed him selfe to haue taken it in hande, but the Cardinall seeking the winning of the Frenchmens hearts vnto his owne family, procured the Kings minde to be altered, and the charge thereof to be committed to the Duke of Guise, who neuertheles made the matter very dangerous, esteeming it vnpossible to bring to passe: yea he stood so much thereupon (such was his valiantnes) that he protested that his proceeding therein was only to obey the Kings expresse commandement, who incessantly motioned the contrarie, affirming no difficulty at all to be therein. Wherefore seing now how the commendations of the said Duke of Guise were therefore sung and published

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ouer his whole Realme, he could not but openly affirme that the said Duke had defrauded him of an honour to him selfe only appertaining.

peace
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by the King
payne.

Morcouer, vnder matters of goodliest shew outwardly, the Cardinall still concealed strange driftes tending to the exalting of his race, through the ouerthrow of France. He nourished the warres of Picardie and Italie, he brake the truce, he with his brother gouerned all for the satisfying of his ambition, and preparing of his path to proceede further, and yet was not all this sufficient. He must therefore trye some other meanes. The Duchesse of Lorraine motioned some peace with King Philippe, whereof the Cardinal taking his aduantage, as shortly we shall perceiue, procured to him selfe the commission to goe to her, to the end there to finde out some other meanes, which was this. The bishop of Arras now called Cardinall Granuelle, being come as the King of Spaynes deputie to this enteruiew, alleaged among other things, that France was infected with Lutherans, among whom some were euen of the chiefe lordes, naming the lord d'Andelot, adding also that some of the Princes were of the same profession, who by meanes thereof lay in wayte for the crowne, whereunto they might easely attaine through the ayde and supporte of the Protestantes, as lately he had perceiued. These words were not spoken in wast: for the Cardinal thereby desirous to frame some practise, disclosed to Granuelle all that he knew touching certaine offers which the Protestante Princes had made to King Henry, together with the meetings thereupon betwene the King of Nauarre and them. This spake he now to the ende to heare the others opinion, knowing that vnlesse he found some occasion to stirre vp households in France, his owne driftes would be in vaine, & his family come to decaye. Gräuelle on the other side, considering of what importance in his masters affaires the breaking of these practises with the Protestantes might be, together with the Cardinall of Lorraine layed this foundation of peace: namely that their masters were either of them of
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such force, that in case the one should ouerthrowe the other, a third person might easely overcome the cōquerer, and therefore that it was necessary to agree them in such maner, that with their whole power they might together set vpon these gospellers, thereby to get the recompence for their owne losses, first putting to death all such as were within the iurisdicktions of both princes, not sparing any. For the Cardinall of Lorraine hoped that the Princes and great lordes of France (which were thought to be Lutherans) being dead, the King and Realme should thereby be so weakened that his family might with lesse trauaile and coste enioye the same. Also that their confiscations might be employed to the winning of seruants and friendes. But that which most of all encouraged him to vndertake this matter, was that Granuelle shewed him, that he knew no knight or captaine liuing more honoured and regarded then the Duke of Guise, who therefore was most worthy of such a commission. For presently he began in a foolish kinde of vaine hope to swallow vp whole countries and kingdomes, perswading him selfe to strike his stroke vnder the goodliest pretence possible, namely the zeale of Religion, all which was but the destruction of Henry, his estate and succession. For the Cardinall hauing once rooted this principall proposition in our Kings hearts, namely that they ought to strayne their consciences, also that vnto Heretikes they were not to obserue any faith, thereby he strooke two wonderfull blowes. first, he drew to him most of the Catholike great lordes, especially the Constable & others very affectionate protectours of France, whom he made his executioners in cutting of their owne armes and legges, by persecuting their fellow citizens. Secondly, he should thereby make away the Princes, many noble lords, sundry gentlemen & infinite true Frēchmen, who together yelded the crowne impregnable, and terrible in the eyes of their enemies. But vnder these two fetches are hidden so many flights and practises, as that it is vnpossible to name them all, wherefore we will heare rehearse some, to the
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ende the readers may the better call the rest to minde, not forgetting how that since that the Cardinall had found this doore open, neither the King, neither his successours had euer any rest, because they haue giuen ouer them selues vnto such pernicious counsayle as hath bene also the destruction of the Cardinall him selfe, and of most parte of his abettours and supporters, and vndoubtedly will in time intrappe his whole family and progenie: in as much as it is the will of God the iust iudge, that into the pitte which the wicked haue digged, them selues shall first fall, and so be ensnared in the net that they haue pitched for others, and finally be strangled with the same coarde that they haue twisted for their neighbours.

To conclude, the peace was granted to the great preiudice of France, but the Cardinall forced not of the price, so that it might in any wise serue his purpose. The first article imported, that both the Kings should procure a generall council, wherewith to repress all heresies, which was as much to say, as after that the Pope and his adherents had concluded thereupon, they should on all sides assaile the Lutherans, wherein the Duke of Guise should be one of the first that should be set on worcke. As for the rest of the articles, they were such, as that by the report of most men, the Cardinall in them shewed him selfe so faithfull vnto the King of Spayne, that most of them proceeded in his fauour, without any, or at the least with very simple controuersie. And notwithstanding both the Constable and Marshall of S. Andrewes were ioyned in commission with him, yet did both he and Granuelle extremely prosecute the King of Spaynes comoditie. As for the Constable, notwithstanding he plainly beheld the open wrong offered to his master, & did somewhat smell out the Cardinals intent, yet through an earnest desire which he had to returne into France, there to repress (through his credite with King Henry) the ambition of the said Guisians, who in his opinion tooke their flight ouer high, the effects whereof were partly discovered in the practise of the mariage of their
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niece, for he began to feare least this fire should take such hould, as that in time it could hardly be quenched, did therefore easely permit him selfe to be drawen away after the Cardinals lure in these affaires.

And the Marshall of S. Andrewes was no such man as durst withstand the Cardinall: for hauing obtained his honour through such meanes as al men wot, it was no newes though his mind were seruile and his hearte of smal force or courage. Also although the Cardinall mistrusted that the Kings earnest affectiō vnto the Constable would procure, that presently vpon his returne he should becom especiall & principall counsaylour vnto him, yet accounting the peace, as the briefest and most ready way to hasten the course of his thoughts, he earnestly pursued the publication thereof.

About the same time, the Protestants through the fauour of sundry great lordes and iudges of the realme, began to looke abroad and lift vp their heades: but the Cardinal presently caught hould of this occasion, thereby to further his intents: His determination therefore was to quayle the vpright iudges, thereby to discouer the best affected, to the end to triumph either in suppressing their constancie, or els in rooting them out, to plant men of his owne begetting in their roomes, whome afterwarde he might gouerne as he list, and through whome he also might vndermine al other. proceeding on stil he knoweth that the protestantes must either forsake their religion, or els mainteine the same. The forsaking of it, is the meanes at better leisure to bring them into bondage and fleze them. The mainteining of it must consist in the support of the mightie, and men of authoritie, who thereby shal consequently be excluded the court and al affaires of estate: whereby he & his supporters shal beare such sway as finally no man shal be so bolde as to withstand him. he moreouer assured him selfe in such wise to prouoke King Henry against the mightiest, that the place should remaine empty for him and his brethren of Guise. He thought this also a
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very honest opportunitie to trippe the Constable, by reason that his nephewes of Chastillon, together with the King of Nauarre and the prince of Conde, being wrested from him vnder pretence of religion, he should lose the principal stay of his force.

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Herevpon he striketh one of his greatest strokes against the Courte of Parliament of Paris, beginning first with the President Segulier, who was gone to the court, there to sue for the pay of certaine pension due vnto him and his companions. For when he had pronounced his oration before the King, the Cardinal stepping forth said vnto him. I suppose not that any man seeketh to stoppe your wages, provided that your selues do faithfully execute your vocations: and then hauing sharply rebuked in the whole body of the Parliament their wincking at the forming of proces against the said protestants, caused the King bitterly to reprove the, and to command them to cal the Mercurial which was the very net, wherewith to entrap y hardiest. And hauing in the parliament many assured seruants, through their reporte he so enflamed the King, that he determined personally there to assist, whereas hauing by course heard the definition of euery man, he emprisoned Anna du Bourg and other counsellors. This was the Cardinals proceeding against the fairest pearle in King Henries crowne, procuring, vnder the beautiful pretence of Religion, the notablest company that was in any place to be found, by litle and litle for the most part to be conuerted into a troupe of slaues, deuoid of al other honour sauing the robe and outward countenance: so that among al the mischiefes which euer the Cardinal wrought in France, this hath bene one of the principal.

Also God iustly moued against such confused abuses as then began to take roote, especially Atheisme, Magick, vn iustice, whoredomes, with other infamous dealings, began to execute his iudgements, whereof the Guisians toke occasion the more to trouble the estate. For King Henry dyed sodenly, being one of the chalengers at the tilt with
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the Duke of Guise, who followed him at the stripe where-
of he receiued his deathes wound.

We haue already plainly perceiued how by the warres *The behau*
of Picardie and Italie, the Guisians emfeblished the estate *ours of the*
of King Henry. Now let vs therefore marke their dealings *Guisians*
toward this princes person, as wel in his life time as also *toward the*
at his death. *person of*

This Prince naturally was milde & courteous as al men *King Hen-*
do knowe, but in brieft, they marueilously altered his na- *ry.*
ture, so that had he liued any longer, the peace with the
King of Spaine would haue hatched terrible tragedies in
this kingdom. Before his comming to the crowne, he was
committed to the gouernmēt of the Cardinal, who sought
only to corrupt and spoyle him, becomming his baude and
minister of amorous behauiours. The very stones, cabbins
and hangings of the house of Reims, wherein infinite
whooredomes haue bene committed, doe yet speake of
the same: yea not content to entertaine about his person
the Duchesse of Valentinois, to the Queenes great griefe
and spite, they did through other inferiour seruants entise
other ladies & gentlewomē on al sides, to the end through
such accursed meanes to winne the fauour of this prince
through the losse of his soule. We wil not here speake of
the filthie and foule adultery which they procured him to
commit at his returne out of Piedmont, while he was yet
Dauphine, neither of that, that they haue brought vnto
him such as belonged very neere vnto them selues, to the
end he might take his pleasure with them, that is, pollute
him selfe in sundry and strange wise. How oft hath the Car-
dinal fretting at his brother the Duke of Guise, said vnto
him, that neuer uckold sung faire song? Let others weye
with them selues whom he touched. Peradventure Henry
had companions, but he was the first lost in these filthi-
nesses, through the dealing of these men. Hereof it came
that for the destruction both of his body and soule, soone
after his comming to the crowne, they inuented a thou-
sand meanes to entertaine him in wantonnes, and turning
his

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his minde from God, in succession of time to set al in trouble, whereby themselves might fish the better. We must therefore view some particularities. Queene Katherine de Medicis remained barrein sundry yeres, wherof King Henry being yet Dauphine was very sorowful. These our lords hereupon hauing brought in the Seneschal, endeououred to procure Henry to send home his wife into Italie. Yea, once at Rossillon vpon Rosne they helde a great parliament in ful determination to send home this Queene, who afterward was wel assisted by the Cardinal of Chastillon in the same matter. Then seemed she an earnest Christian. on the one side, the Bible was stil vpon the table wherein sometime her selfe read, sometime she caused others to reade: On the other side, it chanced that vpon the commandement of the great King Francis, Clement Marot had translated thirtie psalmes into French, which were set in musicke by sundry good musitions, for both the King and the Emperour Charles the fifth had allowed of this translation, as appeared both in their wordes and rewards: But whosoever loued or feruently embraced them, ordinarily either singing or causing them to be sounge, this yong Prince Henry then Dauphine was nothing behind, wherupon the Godly praised God, and his minions, yea the Seneschal her selfe counterfeited a loue of them, & would say to him, My lord, Shal not I haue this? you shal giue me that if it please you. Wherby sometimes he had enough to do to satisfie both his own fancy and theirs also. Howbeit he especially kept for him selfe the hundred & eight and twentieth Psalme, beginning thus, Blessed art thou that fearest God, &c. Whereto himselfe set a tune, both verie pleasant and correspondent vnto the wordes. The same did he so often sing, and cause to be sung, that euery man might thereby perceiue howe desirous he was to be blessed in stocke, as that psalme doeth importe. Shortly hereafter the Dauphine multiplied in children: but her husband Henrie in steade of acknowledging such a benefite, began to followe the abominations of this villainous

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lanous Seneschal, doing worse then before, so that I may (as I suppose) say this blessing was turned into a curse, wherevnto the Cardinal of Lorraine was a fit instrument: For he perceiuing that Henrie delited in these holie songs, which are the bulworkes of chastitie, and capital enemies vnto al filthines, fearing lest thereby with the time he might be wonne the better to loue his wife, and to send away his harlot, and so consequently the credite of my Lords of Guise, being builded vpon so filthie a foundation shoulde fall downe, began first to reprove the translation, and then the Psalmes them selues, substituting in their steades the lasciuious verses of Horace, together with other foolish songs and abominable loue matters of our French Poets whome he brought into credit. Then began Ronsarde, Jodelle, Baife, and other vile Poets to come into estimation.

And God no longer permitted his Name to be so prophaned, but plucked away his praises, to the end to commit them to the mouthes of infants and babes. The Psalmes, and Marot him selfe were together banished. Al kinde of vile songs and lasciuious musike tooke place, through the especial fauour of the Cardinal the Mecenas to al these villanous inuenters. And the better to end al their labour, they through the Seneschal tooke from the King al godly musike, and depriued the Queene of her chaplaine Boteyler, who in those daies preached the word syncerely, giuing vnto King Henrie a Sorbonical doctor of their owne, a man both ignorant and wicked euen to the end, and so plucked out of his heart, that litle sparke of godlines which peraduenture was entred therinto. Afterward, they became King Henries companions, especially after he was King, yea in more wise then honestie could endure. Here therefore to rehearse and stirre vp such villanies, it were but to much to trouble the readers: Let such therefore as can call to minde all the time passed, since the yere 1550. euen vnto death, with me reduce before their eies the wicked practises which the Guisians haue practised vpon this poore Prince. First in the destructiō of his soule, mainteining

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maintaining a harlot in his bosome, and behauing them selues so vnworthilie in his seruice, as that willingly I wold to God I had neuer heard speaking thereof. The verie tablets made and presented vnto the Cardinal him selfe, together with his countenances and maners of behaiour haue sufficiently shewed it. Againe, what goodnes haue they done to the Queene? Nay, what euil haue they not committed against her? Henrie left foure sonnes aliuie. First, how they dealt with Francis, we shal presently perceiue. What confusions haue we through their meanes bene tossed withal, during the raigne of Charles? Or if the Cardinal liued, how would he handle Henry the third through the meanes of Queene Louyse of Lorraine? Loued he the Duke of Alençon? Nay, but contrariwise at the Kings departure into Poland, he defrauded the said Duke of the lieutenantshippe, conferring the same to his nephue the Duke of Lorraine, and vnder colour thereof gouerned more malepartly then euer before. But al these iniuries do require a more exact discourse, which hereafter we will looke vpon. Thus therefore hauing scorned Henrie and al his, they haue replenished his house with abominations, and his realme with troubles, they haue destroyed the mightie, entrapped the meane sort, and brought al things into such confusion, that in mans iudgement the kingdom is past al hope of restauration, or being reduced to anie smal forme of the pristinate and auncient glorie. In this Prince Henrie the seconds life time, also they began to note out such of his seruants as displeased them, dispersing some of them abroad, bringing others into displeasure, remouing frō the King his faithful counsailers & bringing in their own minions & bondmē, through whose meanes this Prince was perswaded that the Lords of Guise were his most trustie and faithful seruants, who sowed dissension among the other Princes and great Lords, to the end that drawing the one partie vnto their side, they might with the lesse labour destroy the other. All these particularities shal better be seene hereafter in their order,

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der, whereby these iniuries shal plainly be perceiued. At this present thus much we wil say, which also al true Frenchmen wil stand vnto: that considering the breuitie of King Henries life, he did them in so short time more good, then anie King his predecessor did euer vnto al his whole houshold together: he suffred more, he bare more with them, indured more sorowe, grief, vnduetiful behaviours, losses and hinderances by them, then euer master, friend or father susteined at the hands of their seruants, companions, or children. For besides that while he liued, they infinie waies and times, turned away from him, seeking the destruction of both his bodie and soule to their powers, they haue also contaminated his house, marred his children, and consumed his people: euen at his death they haue shewed what regard in his life time they had vnto him. We heard before how the eldest brother perceiuing the death of the great King Francis at hand, scorned him, calling him yoncker. They al now haue bene nothing behind, but haue vttered many more signes of disobedience, and of their trecherous hearts toward King Henrie at his death, who was their especial friend, natural Lord and mightie benefactor. What a sight was it to the French nation bewayling the so vntimely and vnlooked for death of their Prince, to beholde at the same instant of his deceasse, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine with ioyful countenances, taking their yong King and nephue, and transporting him from the Tournelles vnto the Louure? Yea, there was one who semed to name that day, and that not impertinently, the Euen of the feast of three Kings. For there was no man so ignorant, but that viewing these Lordes on horsebacke, might wel iudge that France should now haue the King inheritour, King in name only, and the two Lords of Lorraine Kings in effect, or at the least, two craftie and cruel tyrants, as since they haue manifested them selues. Moreouer it is the ducie of the great chamberlaine to take the charge ouer the dead Kings corpes vntil it be buried: Now the Duke of Guise was

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great chamberlaine, for he had euen in maner forcibly taken the same office from the house of Longueuille. Who then letted the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, hauing a King at their deuotion, yea, if we may so say, at their commandement, from doing their dueties, but that needes they must presently forsake the corpes as some filthie carrion? What may be said of them that so shamefully abandoned the corpes of their King and Lord, nothing caring or thinking vpon the garde and burial of the same? for the which cause both the Constable and al other the Kings trustie & faithfull seruants remained stil behind. Yea, if they had but stayed vntil the bodie had bene colde and assuredly dead, or at the least if they had but shewed some countenance of sorow. Howbeit peraduenture this inhumanitie proceded of that they had gotten some inckling that King Henrie was minded to driue them away, presently after the triumphes and feastes were ended: or rather their owne ambition permitted them not long to deferre the discouerie of that which their hearts conspired, which was, vnder the name of their nephue Francis to raigne ouer vs, waiting better occasion to proceede. Well peraduenture they dealt better with Francis the second, and so behaued them selues, that now they deserued to haue their former offences concealed. Let vs therefore see whether it be so or not.

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This yong Prince, being sixteene yeres old at the most, reigned scarce seuateene moneths fully: but we may say and lye not, that neuer Realme in seuateene moneths space was so shaken as our poore France, all through these mens ambition: yea I dare affirme that in case God for the iust punishment of our sinnes had prolonged the said Francis reigne other seuateene moneths, the house of Valois had vtterly lost the crowne, and the whole nobilitie might well haue prepared them selues vnto death, or other strange bondage and violences. The people, the officers of iustice and euen the Clergie them selues could haue assured them selues of no other then most horrible tyrannie.

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To the end therefore, that all this may the more evidently be perceiued, let vs marcke the ordering of the Realme in the said seuentene moneths space. First they rauished the King out of the handes of the Estates of the Realme and officers of the crowne, conueying him euen at the houre of his fathers death into the Loure, with his brethren, mother and wife. There they so warely watched him and diligently kept him, that no man might come neere him, vnlesse some of the Guisards were at hand. At the same time also began they to be called the Kings keepers. They driue away the Constable and others, they send away the Princes of the blood, one to carie the order into Spayne, an other to conduct the lady Elizabeth, another to confirme the peace in Flanders: and finally vsed them, as we shal see comming to speake of their dealings toward sundry Princes of the blood. They take or rather wreste from them the dealings in the affaires of estate: for when the Parliaments had sent their deputies to the King, he gaue them to vnderstand that his two vncles, the Cardinall of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise had the whole dealinges: commanding that thence forth all men should resort vnto them in all matters touching the estate of him and his Realmes and dominions, charging all men to obey them as him selfe. Here you see them by their owne instrument declared Kings: for this yong Prince being of no experience, and miserable in that he was lincked in to such companie, said and did nothing but what they lusted: because the Cardinal had so enured him to his signes, that at the least motion of his countenance, the King spake, walked or helde his peace, &c. In so much that he was also termed the Kings life or soule, for, to say the truth, he caused the King to moue or stand still, yea to counterfaite what countenance so euer he thought good.

Hauiug scattered the princes and lordes whom they suspected, let vs behold how they dealt with the rest. As touching the priuy council, after they had once assured themselves of the Chancellor Oliuer whom they reuoked, who also so farre forgot God and him selfe, that he gaue them

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his conscience, they brought thereinto whomsoever them selves reposed any confidence in. After the time of Henry, the Parliaments consisted of such men as had brought in most money, and the chiefest fauour of mighty men. The Guisians considering that they stood in need of such men, had brought in by litle and litle the children of the greatest vsurers and extortioners, with such other maner of people, who haue corrupted all diuine & humane equitie, and retailed such offices as they bought by great, or had in recompence of some bribes, reueiled contrary to their othe the secretes of the Courte, and finally violated iustice in all sortes: so that it was an easie matter for the Guisians to order these courtes at their owne deuotions, bridling some, and replenishing other some with vaine hope. That which touching these matters they had practised in the time of Henry, they did now vnder Francis the seconde more hotely proceede in, in so much that since they haue had great supporte on that side. They began also to order the estates of the Kings household, vsurping therein the office of the Constable as then great Master still. To the ende to bring in their owne seruantes, and men of their owne conditions, they displaced parte of the late Kings officers, who before had still continued from the father to the sonne, whom they least vnder pretence of good husbandrie: others they dismissed giuing them halfe paye in the name of pensions, notwithstanding the new estate of household officers did farre surmount the other. The prouinces of the Realme and frontier townes, were furnished with their supposts, and such as liked them not were sente home to their dwelling places: All gouernours, heades and captaines of warres and townes, were commaunded to obey the Duke of Guise, as the Kings owne person. The reuenues were put into the handes of such as the Cardinal most fauoured, and all the courtes of Parliament were admonished, that he had the superintendence ouer all matters of estate. To the ende them selves only may remaine armed, they forbid the wearing of all armes,

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armes, especially of dagges and fyer woods, also of long clokes and great hosen. For the Cardinal being of a cowardly nature, was warned by a Necromantian at Rome, that he should be slaine with some fyer staffe through the enuy of such enemies as he should procure in France, when he were at his highest degree of honour.

Their first tyrannous practise was in persecuting the Protestantes in the persons of certaine counsaylers of the Parliament of Paris, especially Anna du Bourg, whose proces is amply described in sundry treatises and discourses, especially in the history of Francis the second lately set forth, which reueileth sundry villainous iniustices and wickednesse, committed by certain iudges whom the Cardinal had apposed and suborned.

An other practise was in raising the commons against the Nobility in maner following. For to suppress such as might contrary them, also to obtaine the goodwill of the commons, and to make their gouvernement agreable vnto them, they published letters of reuocation of all alienations, as wel for life as yeres, whether they were in recompence for seruice or otherwise, except sales, the coyne whereof had bene bestowed vpon the Kinges great and weighty affaires, without any collusion, together with the appanage of the daughters of France, and the dowry of the late Queene Eleonor, which the infante of Portugal did possesse, all the rest were thereby reunited vnto the Kings demaines and ordinary receyts. This was the way to bring the mighty into their handes, and procure them selues more seruants then before, by obtaining for them such declaratory letters as them selues listed.

The third practise was by driuing away the King of Nauarre the first prince of the blood, through the most vnworthy meanes that might be, which also shall be mentioned in the treatise of their dealings against the princes of the bloud.

By the fourth they wrested from the Cōstable the office of great Master, for the Duke of Guise, & bought the Marshall Brissac with the gouernment of Picardie, which they

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plucked out of the handes of the Admiral of Chastillon.

In the fifth, to the ende to fortifie them selues against the preparatiues framed for the repressing of their tyranny, they made eightene knights of the order at one clap, making of a marke of knighthood, throughly tryed and vnblameable, a collar vnto all kinde of beastes.

For the sixt, cōsidering y^e al this was not sufficient, but that with the time it was to be feared, lest y^e estats would chalēge their aunciēt priuiledges & liberty, by meanes wherof their licentiousnes would lye on long, first they caused the King wōderfully to mislike of the voice that wente, that the people was determined in the Kings minority to demande the estates: & this brought they very subtilly to passe through diuers sleights, & principall wherof was to bring the mightiest into feare through some notable meanes, & so to winne the Queene mother, that she might be the instrument to strike this stroke. They therfore propounded vnto this woman, who otherwise was sufficiently pinched with the burning yrons of her owne ambition, that if the estates should take place, as the enemies of her auctority wished, she shold be sent to dresse & trimme her gardēs, or els cōueyed ouer the mountes: & therefore, that as her faithfull seruāts, they counsayled her to loke to it. Now they regarded not her so much, for in case King Francis had ouerliued the King of Nauarre, & Prince of Conde, whom they were determined to put to death a litle before that the estates were houlden at Orleans, they would sone haue made her to haue scudded, for they marueilously suspected her minde & nature: it was therfore their owne commodity wherat they leueled. But this woman feining not to perceiue their subtilties, told them that she beleued their words, & stil the more & more to establish her self, & play them some fine pracke, she writ to her sonne in law the King of Spayne, complaining vpon the King of Nauarre & the princes, as if they had sought (by meanes of the estates) to reduce her vnto the estate of a handmayd. Sone after returned the pacquet out of Spaine, wherein King Philippe writ how he was certified that cer-
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taine seditious persons & rebels, endeouored to moue some troubles, seeking to alter the regiment of the kingdome so wisely already established by so many counselors, & by the late King Henry his good brother & father in law, as if the King his brother in law were not of him self capable to administer it, or to cōmit it vnto such as he thought good without the intermedling of any other consent, or receiving any lawe at his subiects hands, which he ought not to permit: wherefore for his part he woulde willingly employ his whole power in the maintenance of the authoritie of him and his ministers, although it should cost both the life of him selfe, and of fourty thousand men whome he had in a readinesse, if any man should attempt the contrary: for, said he, he bare him so great good wil, that he woulde declare him selfe the tutor and protectour both of him and his kingdome, and also of his affaires, the which were to him in no lesse recommendation then his owne. Thus may you see how the hereditall enemy of the crowne of Frāce was called to the defence of their tyrannye. Many accounted these letters ful of wonderful presumptiō, that a forein prince durst thus openly in the presence of the whole priuie counsel (for these letters were read among them al euen before the King of Nauarres face) abolish the french liberty, and ouerthrowe the auctoritie of the estates. But the Guisians had already aduertised him in what estate all thinges stood, and in case matters had so fallen out as they began to doe, he had had his share among them. So at the same instant, these the spaniardes letters were as effectual as they desired, for presently the King of Nauarre began to cappe them, and of his owne accorde to seke al occasiōs wherby to returne to the defence & custodie of his coutry. howbeit the better to walk him, he together with the Cardinal of Bourbō & the Prince of la Roch Suryon who were ioined in his commission, were appointed to cōduct y^e Lady Elizabeth the kings sister who was married to the spaniard, & her at y^e frontiers both of Frāce & Spaine to deliuer vp.

Now therefore peceiuing that the more they sought the

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hastening of the ouerthrowe of France, the more they opened the mouthes of al true Frenchmen, they determined to fortifie them selues by alluring the Parliaments, the Clergie and the men of warre to their partes. The Cardinal supposed the aduancement of religion, and multiplication of the professors thereof, to be to him a goodly pretence wherewith to intice the Clergie : As for the Parliaments, in as much as manie of the counsayers and presidents placed in the same, came in at the windowes, and were men but of smal consciences, they needed no great labour to hasten them forward to the assubiection of them selues to the house of Guise, for such good men as remained, being terrified with the examles of Anna du Bourg and others, laid their handes vpon their mouthes. Also the men of warre seing the Princes holde their peaces, and perceiuing the Duke of Guise in his armour, whilst others both high and lowe were in their shirtes, wayting euerie houre for to be slaine, toke part with the mightiest. And notwithstanding al men, one and other, were assured by sufficient coniectures, that the drift whereunto the house of Guise aspired, was farre other then they represented : yet they being watered with a certaine vaine hope, also to the end to maintaine the selues in their imagined prosperitie, as men vtterly deuoid of vnderstanding, did wholly cast them selues headlong into this goulfe.

The Guisians being thus in fauour, and hauing expelled al such as were not of their bande, did determine better to looke to their matters vpon this occasion. As King Francis grew, so did he more and more reueile an assured iudgement of his euil health. Now had they married him to their niece the Queene of Scots, and had betimes procured him to taste all worldly delites, and bewrapped in his wifes swathing cloutes, to the end to yealde him the more supple and delicate to their handling : But this Prince being sickely, who also in his youth had foresnewed a most dangerous euil disposition, by reason he could neither hoake nor spit forth, caused that cer-
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raine his physitions of the creation of the Guisians, secretly warned them to provide for their owne estates, for as much as the King was no man of long continuance. Vpon this report, the Cardinal hauing alreadie most men bound to his hand, to the end to finde out their affections towarde the King, would sometime bewaile the miserie of the present time, also the Kinges vnweldines, who shoulde not peradventure haue leysure, said he, to punish the heritikes, so that al thinges might after his death happilie be turned otherwise. Hauing then strooke this stroke, and finding that manie did euen halfe wishe that he would inuent some stedfast meanes, proceeded on inferring vpon the Kings sicknesse, whome maliciously he after a maner taxed of leprosie, and that in double consideration: First to bring the Frenchmen out of taste in their natural loue which they beare to their Kings, because the King was (as they made men to belecue) infected with such a contagious disease, and so to prepare them against a new change: and next to bring the protestants into such hatred (whome he pretended to make authours of this bruite) with the King, that through his commandement they might be vtterly exterminated, to the end that they being thus made away, the Guisians might finde no man to withstand them. Following this determination, they bruited abroad through their partakers, that the King went to Bloys to take physicke for the spottes in his face, and when anie man asked the meaning of such speach, these spies would closely whisper them in the eares, saying, that assuredly King Francis was infected with leprosie, and that to the end to procure his health, he must necessarilie be bathed in the blood of manie yong children: also that there was alreadie a commission giuen forth for the taking vp of the most beautiful and healthfull from foure yeres olde vnto sixe. To be brieft, these ruffians which followed the Court, being hired by the Cardinal, went abroad into the boroughes, townes, and villages along the riuer of Loyre enquir-

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ring of the number of children, being presently followed by an other number, who inquired whether anie had bene there to take a register of their said children, willing them to take heede how they did deliuer them, because it was to the end to bathe the King in their blood. These voices mightily terrified al the countrey about Loyre, and the King after his comming to Bloys heard therof also, whereat both he and his mother were greatly moued: But the Cardinal cast al the fault vpon the Protestants, so persua- ding the King, that he kindeled in him such a hatred as re- mained printed in his heart vnto his liues end. Howbeit one of these villaines who had spred these newes, and vn- der colour of warning the parents had gathered great store of money, being taken nere vnto Loches, and found guiltie, and so finally condemned to be beheaded, con- fessed, maintained and affirmed euen vntil his last gaspe, that the Cardinal had caused to giue this commission both to him and manie others. Al which notwithstanding, they bent against the Protestants, and although that a moneth or five weekes before they had published a suffi- cient rigorous Edict against the said Protestants, yet did the Cardinal now set on a fresh onset of three Edictes in Nouember, 1559. In one of the which these wordes were expressed. That in the assemblies both by day and night of the Protestants, not only the vse of the Romish church was villanously prophaned, but also that ther were fundrie vile wordes, both infamous, and reprochful against the King, and such as in deede tended only to the encour- aging of the commons to sedition, were there also disper- sed and spred abroad. But al this serued onely to pro- uoke fundrie persons, yea, such as were indeede enemies to the religion, and to moue them to suspect that there was other matter then religion, which in this point, as al- so in manie others, serued but for a shadow. In the meane time the Guisians raised such a blotte vpon their nephue, that although he were no leper, yet after those reportes he lost most part of his reputation.

Hereupon

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Hereupon also arose two new accidents, which brought the Cardinal againe out of temper: the one was because the president Minard one of his slaues of the Parliament of Paris, was slaine with a dagge by vnknownen persons: another was that one of his good seruantes named Iulian Ferme, was also killed neere vnto Chambourg where the King was. This Ferme was departed to carie manie remembrances to Paris, concerning the making of the processe of diuers of the greatest Princes and Lords of the realme, together with manie notable persons, fauourers of the religion. The Cardinal therefore taking his aduantage of these occasions, gaue a new onset with this slander aforesaid vpon the Protestants, and by letters patents forbiddeth the bearing of armes more straightly then before, through such reportes bringing the King into the hatred of the people, which neuer was wonte so to be suspected. During these affaires, namely the three and twentieth day of December, the Counsailler du Bourg was put to death, together with sundrie other Protestants in diuers places, to the great displeasure and griefe not onlie of sundrie Frenchmen, but also of manie forraine Princes.

Howbeit al this is nothing in respect of such confusions and mishappes, as the Guisians did afterward entangle the King and his dominions in. For their dealings openly importing tyrannie, their vsual threatens against the mightiest in the realme, their setting backe of the Princes and great Lords, their despising of the estates of the realme, their corrupting of the chiefe of the iustices, who were reduced to the deuotion of these new gouernours, the reuenues of the kingdome at their commandement deuided, and giuen where they pleased, as likewise were al offices and benefices, and to be brieve, their violent regiment being of it selfe vnlawful, had altogether prouoked & moued such hatred against the both of great and smal, that thereof proceeded the enterprise wherof la Renaudier was captain in the name, & vnder the aduow of the

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the second Prince of the blood, the handling & breaking whereof we wil more largely declare in the title of their behauiours to the nobilitie.

Of the enterprife of Amboyse.

At this present let vs marke how at that time they mocked the king and his estate. A certaine aduocate of Paris named des Auenelles, had warned them that there were certaine practises in hand against them, wherevpon they vsed the helpe of the Queene mother in calling the lords of Chastillon to the court, where by their aduice they framed a new edict in the Kings name, in the which they qualified the rigours of such as before stode in force against the protestants. This did they only to the end to breake of the said enterprife, minding incontinently after to reuoke the same, as by particular letters they certified their bond slaues of the Parliament of Paris, whereas this edict was immediatly published, and the qualifications inregistred in the secret register, in such wise neuertheles that some counselors so farre forgot themselves, as to say that it was but a false trap to catch the protestants in. This was their dalying with the Kings faith, bringing vpon our Kinges an infamous blot & blemish, namely to be periurers and vnfaithful. In the meane time hauing fresh aduertisements, instead of thinking vpon their regimēt, or effectually declaring that they ment not to be such mē as hitherto they had bene reported, either that they sought to treade downe the Kings authority, they now gathered power on al sides, gaue money out of the Kings coffers to Auenelles and other spies, sent men of warre euery way, and kept the king in the middest of them selues, procuring, during these broyles, certaine letters whereby the Duke of Guise was made lieutenant general for the King with al absolute authoritie: then was there no talke but of putting al to fire and sworde, and slaying of infinite noble men and gentlemen, and so blemishing the name, honour, sight & reigne of this yong King, with the most horrible cruelties that euer were knowē. for the firmament, earth & sea shalbe witnesses of the barbarousnes of these monsters, who haue replenished

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replenished al France with blood, the heauē with witnesses and iudges, and the earth with complaintes. Their treachery appeared in that they would neuer permit the King to heare (as he ought to haue done) the iust complaints of his subiects, whom they so villanously entreated before his eyes. He oft demanded euen with teares what he had done against his people, why they should be so moued against him (for these Lords stil blew in his eares that they sought to slaye him, and vnder pretence thereof, had enuironed him with troupes of armed men, gathered from among the worst members of the whole realme, whome since they haue continewed to the end to keepe themselves about our Kings, whose dignitie they haue thereby conuerted in to I wot not what kinde of Persian pompe, or Turkish terror) and said that he would gladly heere their complaintes & reasons. yea sometimes he would say to his good vncles: I wot not what these commotions meane: I heare say that you be they whō the people is offended withal: I would to God you would for a while depart, to the end we might be the better certified whether this people be grieued at you or me. But as the murderer that helde his enemies father in his armes did by that meanes saue his owne life, so the Guisians ioyning them selues (as the yuie about the pyramide) close to the yong Kings sides, did conningly warde these blowes, wherewith vndoubtedly they should haue bene pearced through. They did therefore reiect al these the Kings wordes, assuring him that neither he nor my Lords his brethren should remaine one houre after their departure, because (say they) the house of Burbon through the support of the heretikes sought vitterly to root out him and his. Thus may you see how they enuenimed the King against his blood and people, naming to him Valois in steade of Guise, openly playing at King put of thy coate, & yet could not their cruelties stop men from casting these things in their teeth both in worde and writing, being accused of weakening, deuouring and wasting both the King and his Realme. But al this shal more particularly be described.

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scribed. The Cardinal was then so malepart as in the Kings
presence to sweare by Gods blood, that the Baron of Ca-
stelnaul should die for it, and that no man should saue him.
In the meane time the Kings edicts posted euery way, and
the Duke of Guise the more to floute the King, and doub-
ting lest the executiō of so many might procure him more
hatred among al men, fearing also least this worde, estates,
which already began to tingle in their eares, should tickle
the peoples hearts, thought it best to saue the liues (after
the maner of a thiefe which holdeth a man in his mercy at
the corner of a wood) of the most part of the poore souldi-
ers who were come on foote: which was done, giuing e-
uery man closely a testorne.

I wil not here say that they counseled the King to slaye
the Prince of Conde, neither speake of the meanes which
they vsed in washing and clesning them selues in innocent
blood, neither of the slanders which they layed vpon the
dead persons, or of their faire promises for time to come,
and al in the Kings name, and yet obserued nothing: for
we shal haue time enough to speake thereof more largely
hereafter. But I wil set before the readers another won-
derful iniury, which their ambition wrought against the
King and his estate.

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*Varres in
Scotland by
the Guisians
reanes at
the cost of
France.*

Their niece who was married to Francis the second, was
Queene of Scots. Now chalenged she some title to En-
gland, because she was the daughter of the sonne of one
of the sisters of King Henry the eight of England, pre-
tending that Queene Elizabeth, at this present reigning,
might easely be displaced, especially because that Marie
Queene before her, being married to King Philippe had
declared her vnlawful. They caused therefore their niece to
take vpon her the title & armes both of Englād & Scotlād,
determining finally to appropriat to themselves the realm
of England at the cost of France, and in the name of their
said niece, whether it were by subtiltie or force. Also the
religion which Queene Elizabeth professed, semed to
them a meete pretence to winne some power in England,

where it is not vnknownen that there are suffred ouer many of the popes affectionate seruants. Again, the mightines of y^e King of France, together wth the inuincible alliãce of both kngdomes was vnto them an other couer or cloke, vnder the which they gathered together many secret seruants & pensioners, who sould their wicked consciences by golde weite, and in scoffing at the Guisians, perswaded them that for the attaining of England, it was requisite first to rãme the Scots, who for the most part were become protestants. For by this goodly exploit, the English Catholikes should haue a sufficient gage of their rest for time to come: also that it was necessary that one of the six brethren shoulde remaine stil in Scotland. During these practises, there arose some trouble in Scotland about religion, King Henry the second died, and they seeing themselves on horsback, determined to pursue this pray with horne and crye. They sent therefore the Bishop of Amiens a very nimble person in the court of the Church, who in one moneth should reduce (said he) al the strayed Scots, & with him la Brosse a hairebrained and furious person, who should murder al in that realme. These two good commissioners being arriued in Scotland, began in their owne fancies to make partition of the gentlemens lands, and selling the beares skinne which yet they had not taken, they writte vnto the Guisians that there were waies how to draw yerely two hundred thousand crownes out of this kingdõ, by putting to death the nobilitie, and bringing the commons into subiection: also that there they might wel lodge a thousand French gentle mē, who should be to do the lords of Guise seruice. God knoweth whither this council clawed them where they itched and whither they maligned the Queene dowager their sister, and her minion the lord of Oysel, who thought it not best to ouerrunne the said Scotts, who had blood in their nayles, as they shewed wel, making the Bishop to feele that they had nought to doe with his instructions, and compelling la Brosse to returne the same way he came, and to goe and bragge it in some other place, driuing away the priests,

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priests, the Cardinalty and the Papalty, al which, had it not bene for the foolish ambition of the Guisians, might well haue remained. Also besides this blowe they susteined an other onset on the coaste of England, for Queene Elizabeth made a large protestation expressly against them, therein setting before al mens sight the causes of these broyles, to the Kings confusion and the destruction of his realme. And whatsoeuer countenances or practises that they made afterward, fastening (according to their custome) the foxes skinne vnto the lyons, yet gained they nought els on that side, sauing shame to themselues, and losse and hinderance vnto the King and his realme.

Whiles they extended their wings so farre of, in France one the one side the protestants multiplied, and on the other side such as misliked the gouernement of the Guisians, began againe to take heart, notwithstanding the successe of the enterprise of Amboyse had in the beginninge greatly quailed the greatest part. Hereupon the Duke of Guise marueilously chafed that in his gouernement of Dauphine the protestants had first listd vp their heades, brought in sixtene ensignes of the olde bands of Piedmôt, together with diuers cōpanies of other French souldiers, vnder the conduct of Tauannes, Maugiron and others, who made marueilous hauocke in those countreis. Sone after also they brought the King to Tours, where they did what they could to haue had the towne destroyed, for they supposed that the inhabitants thereof had fauoured the enterprise of Amboyse, and therefore a great while bare them a milke tooth.

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Thus walking the King vp and downe, causing him to taste of the baite of al pleasures, they abused his youth and simplicitie, dayly planting other pillars of their greatnesse for time to come. & the more they se they were contrari-ried, the sorer were they enuenimed & bent vnto new practises, brīging the King into the hatred both of his subiects and strangers, more endamaging the realme in one moneth then, then before it had bene in a whole yeres warre
against

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against the Spaniard: for it was incredible what exactions and debtes they procured, also what goods them selues hoarded vp, during the raigne of their said nephue Frâcis the second. These behauiours together with extreeme violence vsed, brought most part of the commons in manner into despaire of euer seeing France againe in quiet estate, considering what blowes these men strooke. To procure therefore some remedie, they first sent vnder the name of Theophilus, an admonition vnto the Queene mother, wherein the tyrannie of the Guisians was most liuely set forth, the conclusion whereof was, that it was necessarie to prouide for the gouernmēt of the estate. also to counsel the King according to the auncient constitutions and customes of France, and not after the appetite of the Guisians. Also that the troubles for Religion were to be appeased by a holie and free Council. The Queene mother being then in their clawes, and seeking by all meanes to please them, serued their turne in steade of a spie in al maner possible, and caused the bringer of this admonition to be stayed, and afterward hauing sought in al places for this Theophilus, and put the bringer in feare, euen of beating, considering that such writings might in time quench their fires, and turne the edge of their swords pointes, they concluded to plant the Spanish inquisition in France, hauing first by secrete seruants, mainteined at the Kings charges, as wel in Germanie as other where, to their powers defamed with al kinde of slanders the said Protestants. Howbeit the wisdome of the Chanceler de l'Hospital, who politikely hādled these thornes, after a manner brake this blowe: For in place of the Spanish inquisition they framed the Edict called of Romorantin, which forbad al vnlawful assemblies, comprehending vnder that title all preachings and exercises of Religion. But in steade of appeasing the troubles, this Edict doubled them in all places. The thing which most beganne to quicken their spirites, was a booke intituled the Kings Maioritie, written in the fauour of the Guisians by Iohn du Tillet a clarke of

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the court of Parliament of Paris, notwithstanding his entertainment at the Cardinals hands, should neuer haue procured his appetite thereunto, but in those dayes all men worshipped these our Lords, who in deed were euen as Kings.

To this booke was made a quicke and liuely answere, which afterward was followed by a number of other smal pamphlets, for the which there was great serch made, yea, such as to cause to hang Martin l'Hommet, who had printed one, called The Tygre of France, wherein the Cardinal among his other brethren was painted out in al his colours. On the one side, the Cardinal fained a kind of ioy that he was thus made immortal, and on the other side, he practised men to answere these libels, which discouered his sleights, and alreadie made his Legend, immortalizing in deede the filthinesse both of him, and of his whole familie. But among other, Du Tillet, who had receiued a shrewd yerke, excused him selfe for euer after, and exhorted the Cardinal to prouide for his affaires by some other means, namely, by vsing against both the persons & goods of the Protestantes, al kinde of rigours which he could deuise, to the end they might take no sure footing, neither haue their mindes at libertie: shewing him that he might particularly write vnto the Princes, whose counsaile the Cardinal immediatly followed as the most expedient.

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realme.*

Now to maintaine their credit among foraine Princes, and to discouer whatsoeuer was said or done, besides the ordinarie ambassadours, who were at the Guisians deuotion, they did with store of coyne winne diuers Princes seruants, hauing in Spaine, Englad & Germanie, pensioners at the cost of the Realme of France. Moreouer, besides these they had in the courtes of these foreine Princes, and of the Princes & Lords of France also, other secret seruants, to whome they gaue such pensions, that the onely expenses of secret seruants in France, amounted to aboue twentie thousand franckes by moneth. They had also ordinarie

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ric postes, who ranne spying in the ynnnes abroad in the countries, to marke the behauiours of all men, whereby sundrie not thinking thereupon, were shortly after imprisoned, and brought to that point that they were no more heard of.

These thinges thus established, they renewed their league with the Queene mother, wrote vnto al their partakers, and gathered vp so manie men as they could, in so much that the Duke of Guise durst make his vaunt, that he had the promises of twelue hundred french gentlemen of name, and the oathes of the captaines, with whom, together with the olde bands come out of Piedmont, and others whome he had at commandement, he would ouer-runne al his enemies. The Cardinal also propounded vnto the Kings councill, that it were good to sease vp on the Prince of Condes person, who was burdened to be the chiefe captaine of the enterprise of Amboise: and hearing that he was gone into Bearn, they perswaded the King that it was to the ende to arreare new warre against him, and so to escape punishment for his former offence. This entrie beinge made, they dispatched out new commissions for the rayfing of men, to the ende to assayle the King of Nauarre, who had withdrawen the Prince, his brother. They sent also the Marshal of Saint Andrewes to espie the Princes demeanour. They fetched through the meanes of the Queene mother, one named la Planche, to the end by him more particularly to heare the cōplayntes of the Huguenots of estate and Religion, whereby they might with new subtilties arme themselues there-against. Also from that time forward they were so impudent, and she also, if I be not deceiued, as to as- firme, that the meanes to remedie so manie discontentations, was by causing to march alwayes a Prince of the blood, and then one of the house of Guise, a Prince and a Guisian, and so forward. Wherein they sufficiently disco- uered what mind led them. Thē they changed the gouer- nours as they thought best, they sent la Motte Gódrin into
Fjj. Dauphine,

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Dauphine, and others of their own stampe here and there, after this maner laying their nets, the more easely to entangle their enemies.

And as Gods iudgements in this one poynt are admirable, namely that the stoutest contemners of his maiesty haue for a while all things succeeding according to their desires, to the end their fall afterward may be the greater: so happened it to the Guisians. For lying in watch, and not knowing at which end to beginne, la Sague a Biscain gentleman being sent from the prince of Conde to sollicite his friends, was taken at Fountainbleau with sundry instructions, by meanes whereof together with his owne confessions vpon the racke, they did more euidently then before, perceiue the string of their tyrannie to be in manner cut a sunder, vnlesse they tooke the better heede. First therefore they imprisoned le Vidame de Chartres and the Prince of Condyes mother in lawe: then sent they the Countie Ringraue vnto the frontiers of Lorraine, there to keepe in a readines a regiment of Lansquenets and two thousand harquebuziers. They cause the olde bands comen out of Piedmont, to descend along the riuer of Loyre into Dauphine, faining that they would send them into Scotland: but they soiourned in Gyen and about Moûtargis, there at their need to assure theselues of the Admirals houses. There did they commit infinite mischiefs, and yet escaped punishment, to the ende afterward they might do the better seruice, spoyling or ransoming the best houses, violating the fairest virgins and women, and to the end to suffer no iustice, it was sufficient to accuse the plaintiffs to be Huguenots.

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by at Foun-
tainbleau.*

Hereupon happened an other expedient meanes to bring their purposes to the better passe. The Queene mother seeing so many preparatiues, also that among al these tempestes she coulde not easely continew, for that one of the parties would humble her, for she more feared the Guisians a hundred folde then any others, accompting her self certaine, (as indede it was true) that if they ouercame the

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Princes of the blood, they would neither spare her children nor her self: & on the other side if the Guisians were mated, in that she was confederate with them, she was also in danger to fall with them: she therefore asked the counsel of the Admiral and of the Chaunceler, who shewed her that it was necessary to propound vnto the Kings council, that the princes, lordes of the realme, knights of the order and all other men of authoritie, ought to be assembled together for to finde meanes howe to pacifye these troubles.

The Guisians therfore vnderstanding this opinion, notwithstanding they misliked vtterly this libertie in the Admiral & chanceler, & were fully resolved to pul them both down together wth the rest, yet did they herunto condescēd, accōpting this the best motion of al for y^e attaining to their point: for said they so soone as the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Conde, the Constable and the rest shal receiue the Kings letters tending to that purpose, they would not faile to come, and so shoulde they all be brought where they shoulde be detained, without causing them so muche paine as to goe so farre for them. Againe, notwithstanding they coulde not obtaine this, yet at the leaste they shoulde haue so manie voyces in this assemblye, that all their deedes passed shoulde be auctorized, and their degree established for the time to come, so that hereafter it shoulde be a manifest offence for any man to seeke to contrarie them, and so consequently shoulde in effecte remayne Kinges of France, attending vntill their other driftes might procure them so to be in name also. Moreover if their enemies woulde not come to the said assemblye, then shoulde they haue newe matter against them, aswell by bringing them more and more into the Kinges hatred and mistruste, as also by hauing the better pretence to be reuenged of them. Thus therefore there was now no question but of sending of packets euery way in the Kings name, and of their owne letters to their friends. Then did a great number of Knights of the order,

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whom they had lately created, stand them in good stead, for there were so many voyces wonne to the confusion of the King and his realme.

But they vsed a wonderful craft toward the King of Nauarre. For they caused the Queene mother to write vnto him not to faile, but come: but closely they caused his owne counselors, namely Descars his chamberlaine, Bouchart his chanceler & other their spies and secret seruants who were toward this prince, to wil him not to come to this assembly, and by this meanes they gaue so shrewd a spurne at the estate of this realme that it feleth it yet: for this Prince being put in feare, was cause that the gouernment remained to these Lordes, who afterwarde anewe strengthened themselves.

In al this assembly were but three persons which pricked them, of whom two especially angered them outright. For y Bishop of Valence saying his minde warmed them, but the Archbishop of Vienna named Marillac, made the throughly to change countenance in his learned and bould oration concerning the authoritie of the estates, and the vrgent necessity of calling the, concluding w a national council also.

*the assembly
of the
estates.*

Entreating of the estates he shewed first, that the same was the assured meanes to withhold the commons in their ducty, then what the estates were, and to what end they ought to be assembled. Then that the cōplaints of the people ought to be heard and examined in the presence of the estates. Therupō he discoursed very fitly of the euils which troubled the realme, and wherof the Guisians (not naming them) were cause. These euils were the extraordinary ouerchargings, which were so growen & multiplied, that the people were therewith ouerwhelmed, the wasting of the Kings reuenues, his great debts, the excessiue expenses of the realme, the ignorance of the auditors, the matters of estate troubled, the Kings chiefe ministers burdened with turning al things to their own aduantage, & of reping their priuate commodities out of other mens calamities, the King not obeyed, the people not heard & the gouernment disordered.

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red. Afterwarde he declared the great commodities which the assemblie of the estates would procure. By them the King should vnderstand the particular affaires of his kingdom, he should examine the maners of his people, he should know his own part, and might prouide for his owne estate: he should become a good shepherd, peaceably shearing his shepe without otherwise hurting of the, he should behaue himself royally, that is to say, courteously & holily: he should be happie and obtaine the beautiful title of the name of a Father of the people, whereby the memory of King Lewes the twelue is most celebrated, and shineth as an example to the posteritie, more then al the conquestes and victories of his predecessors. Then that the people would thereby be the more encouraged to the helping of their King. That whatsoeuer is ordeined in such assemblyes is very effectual to make the people quicke and ready in al obedience. Also that whosoever few folks are called to the making of lawes, the people doe interpret that they were forged according to some mens affections, & without examining such reasons as those who are absent might haue alleaged in case they could haue bene heard. He added that the house of France had florished eleue hundred yeres a row, by conseruing the authoritie of the estates: that the like had happened in the Empire, and in the realmes of Spaine, England, Scotland, Denmark, Suethland, Boheme, Hungarie and euery where els. He afterward answered to al the obiections of such as sought to persuaade men to belecue, that the assemblie of the estates was the diminishing of the Kinges authoritie, and then did openly taxe the tyrannie of the Guisians, who therefore did giue him so litle thanks, that after they had caused him to be threatened, he was finally forced to withdrawe him selfe, and then seeing in what estate matters were, died for sorowe. His oration is printed and inserted into the notable History of Francis the seconde, lately come to light, and therefore we will no longer prolong these matters at this presēt. But that which most of all draue the into a rage, was the Admirals oratio,

F. iiii.

which

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which pearced the impostume of their tyrannie : for speaking purposely of y^e Kings new gard, he shewed that it was euil done of those, who had thus armed their Prince against his subiects, and said plainly that in case the Kings officers feared to be displeased, they should take away the occasions, also that the displeasure was not against the King, (as to what purpose should it so be, seing he was but a childe, who stirred not, neither did anie thing without the counsaile or prompting of his vncles,) but against those who had the dealings in the affaires of the kingdome, whereto it was easie to prouide, so that al might be cōpassed orderly, and according to the lawes of the realme. The rest of his oration tended to the same end as did Marillac. He spake some thing also of Religion. Then did the brethren of Guise shew that they were Kings: for besides that al the Knights of the order there present durst not define, but said only that they were of the Cardinals opinion, they bent them selues chiefly against the Admiral, insisting vpon the new gard, and briefly shewing that their nephue Francis serued but as a maske & cloke to their fellonie : Which also the letters sent immediatly after this assembly vnto al Baylieses and Seneschals, did euidently declare : For the Cardinal had framed them, who promised a mightie reformation in the Church, (but thinke with your selues how the harlots do vse to reforme the stues) together with the estates, which were summoned to the tenth day of December, in the towne of Meaux, and that in the meane time that al gouernours and lieutenants of the Prouinces (for the most part seruants and slaues of the house of Guise) should deliberately visite their townes, to the end particularly to vnderstand, & to make report vnto him of the cōplaints of the people, that is to say, on al sides practise the establishment of their tyrannie : Thus did they scoffe at the Kings authoritie, making void & frustrate this so notable assemblie, as by the effects did incontinently appeare.

They added hereunto an other practise of wonderful presumption against the King, which was by raysing in
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armes all the companies of Ordinances, vnder colour that the enterprife of Amboyse was yet not fully quenched, although in deede to destroy the princes of the blood, to depriue the estates of libertie, and to make an ende of marring all. Also for their better fortification, vnderstanding the returne of the French troupes come out of Scotland, by reason of a treaty of peace, wherein the King had bene constraigned to agree to certaine both dishonorable and hurtfull articles, through the foolish ambition of his vncles, they ioyned them vnto the old bandes of Piedmont, Metz, and Picardie for their owne garde, besides twelue hundred others whom they had reserued, ouer and besides the departing of the companies placed and sent into all gouernments. Hauing then thus the sword in their handes, and being on cocke horse, they made a dispathe from the King their nephue vnto the King of Nauarre, whereby the prince of Conde was charged with treason: & therefore for his heartes ease, the said King desired the King of Nauarre to send him his brother in sure and safe custodie: if not, him selfe should be driuen to fetch him, and that with such companie as the force shal remaine to him. The King of Nauarre and his brother answered so wisely, and with such constancie, as the Guisians did well perceiue that withall their power they could hardly come to an ende: and therefore they determined to vse the Kinges faith and promise, whereby to deceiue these Princes, and to get them into their trappe: and did incontinently frame another packet, wherein the King sent worde to the King of Nauarre and the Prince of Conde, that they might safely come to him, and returne againe when they listed, assuring them in the worde of a King that nothing should in any wise be attempted against their persons, that peaceably he would heare their declarations and iustifications, that they should not come into any prison, neither that any man should make their proces: only he desired an answere of the Princes owne mouth vnto such points as he was charged with all, and which he could hardly

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hardly beleue: to be briefe, that they should be receiued according to their estates and dignities, yea they should enioye the ranck which vnto them appertained in the dealing in the affayres, to the ende to haue their aduice and counsayle whereby to bring all things into good policie and order. Also as for the Religion, whereof the said lord Prince had made open declaration and protestatiō, he would not, neither mēte that by reason thereof they should susteine any trouble or disquietnesse. These poore princes as true Frenchmen leaning vpon so solemne a promise, although they were not so blinde but that they saw the lyons pats of the Guisians, which waited to deuoure them, neither so deuoyde of meanes, but that they coulde by force of armes haue raunged these vsurpers and well enough come to an ende, yet trusting in their innocencies, and in the meane time led, as in an other place we will more particularly shew, they tooke their iourney, and by litle and litle dismissed their companie, to the ende with a smal traine to fall into their enemies nets.

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Now let vs behold how they caused their nephue to performe his faith so solemnly promised. The same day of the Pinces arriual, who were very vnworthily receiued, & litle or nothing at all regarded, the King causing them to follow him into the Queene his mothers chamber, addressing him selfe to the Prince of Conde, said vnto him that he had bene certified out of diuers places, that the said Prince both did make, and had made sundry practises against him and the estate of his Kingdome, by reason whereof he had sent for him by his owne mouth to know the truth: The Prince hauing pertinently answered and shewed his innocencie, also hauing discovered the malice of the Guisians (who fearing the touchstone were absente) was neuerthelesse presently committed to the handes of Chaigny the Captaine of the garde, and bondeslaue to the Guisians, and by them sent expressely to conueye the said Prince to prison: for they would not suffer him to remaine in his brother the King
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of Nauares custodie, who vpon his life answered for him, for he had enough to doe to saue him selfe.

Now as a wicked conscience doeth neuer cease seeking *Their pra* like meanes to leane vnto, so the Guisians seing that they *etises with* had vndertaken a worke which they should hardly bring *strangers fo* to an ende, vnlesse they were supported by others then *the destr* Frenchmen, notwithstanding that many had alreadye re- *etion of* nouced their liberties, they determined to practise & draw *France.* vnto them forein Princes, through whose helpe at their neede to preuayle. A man may well gesse whether the King payed y players of these tragedies, also whether his auctoritie were manifestly vsurped in this case. The peace before concluded with the King of Spayne, cōteined among other this cōdition, that both the Kings should with al force persecute the Lutherās with al extremity. This éterprise being broken of by the death of king Héry, was reuiued in the beginning of the reigne of Francis, and then slacked againe through the enterprise of Amboyse. But now the Guisians hauing two of their principall enemies in their power, determined (mocking the king of Spayne, in making him beleeue that they were earnest defenders of the Catholicke Church) so to roote out the Protestantes, that thereby they might make their way to the throne, the playner. They therefore sent the Spaniard worde (who for his parte lay also in waite, determining if fit opportunitie might serue to giue them the slippe also) that the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Conde, vnder colour of quareling at the gouernment, sought to put the King and his brethren to death, and through the ayde of the Queene of England, of the Protestant princes and of the gospelling Switzers to bring in their Religion into France, and after the same also to prescribe a rule vnto all Christendom. They vsed other slanders enowe, in the end wherof they added, that if it pleased the king of Spaine to maintein & fauour them in their gouernment, they would stoppe all the harme that was ment to him, & would set to their hāds that King Héry's promises might be accōplished. Hereunto
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they had such answer as they requested, through the helpe of the Cardinal of Arras, who then thought to haue found a good breach wherby to bring his master into France; but had the Guisians become Kings, he should haue had lesse entrie then before, and peradventure haue bene in greater care then before: for ambition neither wil, neither can abide a companion. At the same instant they also sent to the Pope & to the Duke of Sauoye, also through the practises of the Colonnell Freulich, who was at their deuotions, they wonne the catholicke Switzers: determining the same winter to destroy all their enemies in France, and the next spring, to goe and assayle Geneva, and thence against the Germaines & Switzers of the Religion. Also to the end the Spaniard might not on that side be letted by the Turke, who might haue set vpon his countries, whiles his chieftest forces were entred into the King of Nauarres dominions, they sent expressely to Constantinople to him, to accuse the Princes of the blood of trecherie and treason, & of hauing with certaine men of a new Religion (which acknowledged no Magistrates or superiorities) conspired to put the King and his brethren to death: beseeching him whiles they were busied in repressing those mens presumption, not to innouate or enterprise any thing on the coste of Italie or Spayne, and that in consideration of the auncient alliance, amitye and confederacie which had bene betwene him and the Kings of France. Of him they had so good an answer, that the Duke of Guise so farre exceeded his boundes as diuers times to say, that whatsoeuer happened, he had rather that the Realme should fall into the Turkes power, and remaine vnder his dominions, then to see the Lutherans and heretikes doctrine (for so he called them) there receiued.

Here you see wonderful preparatiues for the establishment of their greatnesse: for within the Realme they were armed at all assayes, and had their enemies in maner at their feete. They had the townes, gouernours, treasury and people in maner at their commaundement. The aforesaid
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foreine Princes fauoured them, and peraduenture should haue had some share in the cake, as the Spanierd chiefly looked for it, hauing so easely obteyned truce of his great enemye the Turke, to the ende to set vpon France, & therefore we may here see whereunto the cruell ambition of these men had brought all thinges, in case God at the same instant had not appeared, smiting them sundrie blowes on the eares, before they coulede bende their gauntlets.

They had graunted the assemblie of the Estates, the *The Guis-* more easely to discouer their enemies, and called the *ans practi-* Kings letters patents the mousetrappes to catch fooles: but *ses broken.* that letted not but in the particular estates of the prouinces many things were propounded cōcerning reestablishment of the Realme, as well in matters concerning Religion, as policie, as at Bloys, at Angiers, and especially at Paris: for notwithstanding all the greatnesse wherewith the Guisians made them selues euery where to be feared, yet was it published openly in the ful Towne house (when the Prince of Condies imprisonment was knowen) that they would not permit the blood of France to be troden downe by straungers. These reportes hastened the prince of Condies proces, whom they purposed to put to death about the tenth of December. As for the King of Nauarre, they also sought his death, endeuouring to doe the King their nephue so much iniurie, as to make him the hangman of his owne blood. And euen as there remayned no more to doe, but to execute this blowe, to the ende afterwarde to strike infinite others, God strooke Francis the seconde with an impostume in the eare, which finally stifled him, and so he dyed the fifth day of December in the yeere 1560. This death ouerthrewe all their enterprises, and did so quayle them at the first, that when they knew there was no more hope, they went & closed vp the selues in their lodgings, replenished with mistrust and incredible feare, from whence they departed not of a day or twayne, vntyll they were assured by the Queene mother

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mother and the King of Nauarre, that they shoulde haue nothing done to the. But they were not so farre ouerscene, but that they caused presently at their comming forth, to carie into their lodging three or foure score thousande frankes, which were left in the coffers: insomuch that all the Kings treasures were wasted, but no man withstoode them, which was thought strange, whereby men might plainly perceyue, that these things were not done without the Queene Mothers consent, who sought through their authoritie to mainteine hers: and to say the trueth, if she had not supported them, their noses had then kissed the ground: but the sleighes and practises on that parte do deserue an other discourse. I had here in maner forgotten an other draught of the wickednesse of the Guisians against their nephew. For seeking to washe their own handes of all that was paste, and the same to cast vpon the Kings power and absolute will, notwithstanding he were but a childe, wanting both witte and discretion to be able to examine or to enterprise such and so waightie matters, yet did they easely obtaine of him, that he shoulde speake courteously and louingly vnto the King of Nauarre, which he dyd fulfill three dayes before he fell sicke, declaring that the Guisians had neuer enterprised any thing against him or his: but that of his owne mere motion, and contrarie to their opinion he had imprisoned his brother the Prince of Conde, and this he desired him to belecue, and for the loue of him and of the Queene his mother, to blot out whatsoeuer euill opinion he might haue conceiued against them. This practise stoode them in great steade afterwarde, for hauing wrested this confession out of the Kings mouth, whom herein they caused villanously to lye, they did afterwarde stiffe and stoutly denie whatsoeuer might be obiected against them, laying all vpon the dead mans backe, offering the combate to any that would saye that euer they of their owne heades had enterprised any thing at all.

Besides all the aforesayde practises with straungers, at
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the ende of the Estates in the Kinges name, all the power of France shoulde haue bene deuided into foure partes, and led by the Marshallles of Saint Andrewes, of Brissac, and of Thermes, and by the Lorde of Aumale, to make such hauocke as all the worlde may well thinke. For beside the vtter subuersion of all Estates, and destruction of al the mightiest and most auncient houses which should haue bene assaulted, were it for their religion, eyther for hauing taken the Princes parte, either for hauing spoken amisse of the King, with infinite suche other meanes, France should haue bene reduced to the Turkes order of liuing, to the ende afterwarde no man might haue had power to resist or withstande the tyrannie of the Guisians. Also if through importunitie they chaunced to forgiue any, it should haue bene with the condition of perpetuall ignominie. Moreouer the Cardinall had vsed such diligence, that there was no corner in all the Realme, where he had not the names and surnames of all the inhabitants, who eyther were Protestantes or of any dealing or enterprise to be able to hurt him, or that had not ranged them selues after his deuotion: and this had he gotten by the meanes of certayne Apostataes and secret seruantes, who ordinarily went ploding about here and there, to the end to founde the heartes and willes of men: insomuch that such truandes were made iudges, and ordered the sentences of lyfe and death vnto all the worlde. Now were they determined so to haue prouoked the people agaynst the Protestantes especially, that they shoulde neede no other hangman: & herein it was to no purpose to say, I am none, for the Monkes & other preachers hyred to the same purpose in going about, should pronouce the condemnations. The graunting of this libertie to the common people was commonly called as a watch word, The letting loose of the great Greyhound, and there was no part of France which coulde haue bene exempt from this calamitie. Also the King of Spaine was on his parte so forwarde, according to his tyme and promise made to the Guisians, that
sixe

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sixe thousand Spanierdes had already taken the way toward Bearn, entending sodeinly to surprise the Queene of Nauarre, and both her and her childré to put to death, committing like murther of her subiects as of the King of Fráces: and in so doing to stay and breake the forces which were in Guyen. But so soone as the Spanierd had aduertisement of the Kings death, also that the Queene of Nauarre had discovered him, and so fortified her selfe in her strong holdes, that he should hardly without long siedege come by her, not knowing what fould the affaires would take, doubting also to haue those on his backe, who had caused his troupes to come into the coútrey, among whō Monluc was one of the first, vpon promise of the Countie of Arminack: wherefore he retired without dooing any thing, cōsidering also that such of the Kings letters whereby he had graunted the passage through Bayonne (which is one of the principall forterefles & keyes of the realme) whether they were many or few, and his commandement to ayde them with as much victuals, artillery, and munition as they would require, would not nowe be of any force or vertue after the said Lordes death, how plaine & full of threates so euer the same were.

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haviour at
the death of
Francis the
conde.*

If the Guisians during the yong King their nephues life behaued them selues outrageously, they did not assuredly at his death recouer their honour. In his lyfe time they kept him so diligently, that no man without their fauour might come at him, I will not here speake how they ordered him priuatly: For besides that they glutted him with all fleshly pleasures before he was of age, they did also replenish his hould with corruptions and infamous dealings. Also through their earnest desire that their Niece might haue issue, and yet knowing King Frauncis but simply disposed thereunto, in that his generatiue partes were altogether dulled and hindred, they permitted many courtiers to haue her companie, who did their endeouours to make her very fruitfull: yet am I ashamed to know that in a certayne table which an Italian of Laques found meanes
to get

to get conueyed into the Cardinall of Lorraines chamber, with certeyne letters from the Pope in steade of our Ladie of Grace, wherein were the sayde Cardinall of Lorraine, the Queene his Niece, the Queene mother, and the Duchesse of Guise most liuely set out, their bodies naked, their armes one about an others necke, and all their legges enterlaced together. Willingly would I haue forgotten the execrable filthinesse which I haue hearde reported of him and his brethren, by such as in Francis the seconds time followed the Courte, and were witnesses of such things as appeared almost manifestly in all mens eyes. Francis had despised all the world to the end to honour them, he had displeased all his Realme to satisfie them and to set them alofte, he prepared to thrust the knife into his owne blood (a man may saye into his owne bodie) thereby to saue them: to be brieft, he had hated him selfe to loue them, and abased his owne person for their exaltation: and yet was there euer person dead of the pestilence, whose bodie men did more abandon, then them selues did this? Thus it was. The Custome at all tymes in France obserued after the deceasse of the Kings is such, as that they whom in their liues they haue most fauoured, and who especially haue had the ordering and dealing in their affayres, ought to accompanie them to their graues, and during the fourtie dayes that they be kept and solemnely serued, wayte vpon their funeralles: This ceremonie did the Guisians cause to be most straightly obserued after the death of Henrie, and hereunto the Duke of Guise was in double maner holden and bounde, for enioying (together with the soueraigne authoritie) the great Mastership of France, which doe namely binde those that doe enioye such a dignitie: yet all this notwithstanding, so it was, that none of the house of Guise did this honour to their King and Master the husbände of their Niece, who in his life time was so deare to them: but by their counsaile and aduice he was both by day and night sent to be throwen into his Fathers tombe without any

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kinde of pompe or funerall solénitie, whereof arose a prety quippe, namely that the King, who was mortall enemy to the Huguenots, could him selfe neuerthelesse not choose but be buried after the Huguenots maner. That which brought the Guisians and their partakers to this point, was the assembly of the estates, where they would nedes assist for feare lest any thing should be decreed against the, also lest their absence should bewray to all the world the difference betwene their furious and vnlawful gouernement, & that of the Princes of the blood, of the Constable, of his eldest sonne Montmorency & of the brethren of Chastillon: also lest by meanes hereof, the cause and roote of the cōtagion, which infected the cōmon wealth should be cut of, which was the thing that they feared more then the plague, for they saw that vnlesse they tooke some order, it would be knowen that them selues were the very causes & originals of disorder. But which most troubled them, they had a womā to gouerne, whose stedfastnes they did greatly suspect, by reason the Admiral was nere to the yong king her sonne, to whom she seemed to yealde as much as she could passe withal, for the mollifying of the Princes and Estates. They doubted also lest so soone as their backs were turned to the Courtward, & that they had giuen ouer the dealings in the affaires, there would come in infinite complaints, the verifying wherof neither the Quene mother, neither other their friends could denie, seing that y crime of treason walked to fast abroad. These occasions therefore caused the Guisians to forsake & ouerthrow al good lawes and vsual orders put in practise as funerals. The Cardinall sought to excuse him self by the King of Nauarre, and the Chastillons, saying that they had so cōcluded in the counsaile chamber, because there was not money ynough to bestow vpon so charitable a deed, although the foure score thousand frankes which he & his brethren had gotten out of the money that came out of Poictou had ben more then sufficient: and in deed they were openly taxed therefore. For whē Sanfac & la Brosse had brought the body vnto S.

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Dionice, & there buried it without any solemnitie or royal ceremonies, two dayes after the buriall there was founde pinned vpon the veluet hearsecloth which couered his body, a litle paper with this writing, *Ou est mesire Tāneguy du Chastel & mais il estoit François*, signifying, *Where is master Tāneguy du Chastel? but he was a French man*. Hereat euey mā at the first did but laugh: but afterward thinking better vpon the matter, they found it to be other then it was taken for. This rāneguy was charles the seuēths chief chamberlein, & bestowed 8000. franks vpon his masters funerals, which he was not paid again vntil three yeres after: he layd out this money whē he saw that al mē had abandoned his masters corps, by reason al the Lords had drawen to his sonne Lewis the eleuenth, who was newly entred into his kingdom, being as then in the low countreis, whither before through his fathers displeasure he was gone. This writing therfore was interpreted as a lamētatiō made in the name of King Francis, seeing him self forsaken & destitute of such a chamberleyn as Tāneguy was: and then saying (as if he reuoked) that Tāneguyes good nature & dutie was not so wonderfull, because he was a French man & no straunger: wherein the Auchour seemed to note the Duke of Guise, because he had wrested the office of Great Chamberleyn from the house of Longueuille.

Now haue we seene the euill entrie of the Guisians du- *The Guisians*
ring the reigne of Francis the first, also howe in the time *and behavi-*
of Henrie the second, their ambition replenished al Ger- *ours in the*
manie and Italie with blood, howe their couetousnes set *time of*
to sale, as it were to the most giuer, the lawes & all iustice, *Charles the*
howe through infinite exactions it emptied the purses *ninth.*
both of rich and poore, whereof folowed innumerable calamities. Then howe in the time of Francis the seconde, it was to be doubted whether bare greater sway in them, either rapine or crueltie. True it is, that the crueltie made the greater shew, as we haue alreadie shewed, and will agayne hereafter. But in the tyme of Charles the ninth, the aforesayde vices togyther with many more, also

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all their shadowes of vertue did then as by day appeare. In this place cometh into sight so many to true discourses, that I am euē in a perplexitie, not knowing which to take, the number of those which presently do appeare is so infinite. Of one thing I am sure, and that is this, that at this day there is no French man, hauing any knowledge in worldly affayres, but that he is able to make an other Legend of the particular actes of these Guisians, in case he will take so much leysure as to gather together all that he knoweth: wherefore I hope to be excused, although I doe onely set in hande this worke which requireth both more hands and wittes.

King Francis being dead, as is aforesaid, and the Cardinal when he was euen readie to geue vp the Ghost, hauing procured him to vtter these words: Lorde forgiue me my sins, & impute not vnto me whatsoeuer my officers in my name and authoritie haue done: The Guisians minded to followe a new counsayle, which was to put of their lyons skinne, that they could no longer keepe without manifest daunger of being drawen to flaying, and to put on the foxes cace. Nowe therefore they determined to folowe their hunte through the Queene mothers meanes: They promised her that if she will fauour them, they will set to their handes to keepe her in the chiefeft degree. Also the more to put this hammer into her head, they doe alleadge vnto her, that the Princes through her wincking at matters being so euill dealt withall, can do no lesse then wishe her harme, seeking all meanes to bring her downe, to the ende to set vp the Constable and the house of Chastillon, whereby afterward to make more alterations: That the estates will disgrace her, vnlesse she goeth out at the back doore to meete them: also although then the Guisians were excluded, yet haue they so many seruants & friends, that for a long whyle they could withstand the Princes. In the meane time that she should retayne her authoritie, & that when her children should come to age, the gouernment of the Princes & their partakers should vanish away.

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The Queen being as crafty as they, knew how to take hold of this proffer, and so to get in betwene both parties, that bending sometimes one way, sometimes an other, to this present she hath kept the place, to the confusion of those who had thither lifted her. Hauing thus found so good an attourney, who at once reconciled them to the King of Nauarre, and gaue forth speeches that she would mainteine the Guisians against all their enemies and misreporters, they beganne somewhat to assure them selues. Now therefore remained no more to doe, but to beate downe first the Prince of Conde, who would not be handled as his brother the King of Nauarre, then Montmorency, and then the Chastillons. Hereupon came to fight the goodlyest determination for their purpose in the worlde. They perceiued the number of Protestantes still to increase in all partes of France, also that the Prince of Conde and the Chastillons were openly of that profession, for the Prince had made manifest declaration thereof, hauing caused Genly and others to certifie King Francis that he was so in deede. Yea euen in the hardest time of his affliction, he draue out of his chamber a priest, whom the Guisians had sent thither to singe Masse. As for the Admiral, he had in the full assembly at Fountainbleau presented their supplication to the King, tending to the ende to obtaine some Churches and publik exercise thereof. He had also declared to the Queene mother that he would neuer abiure his Religion, but offered to dispute against the Cardinal. The lorde d'Andelot had of long time bene of the same profession, and it is knowen that at the accusation of the Duke of Guise, and by the solliciting of the Cardinal, the late King Henry had almost slaine him, when on a time he asked him if the Masse were good, and that he answered that it was a prophane and wicked thing. The Cardinal of Chastillon also began by litle and litle to forsake the Papalyc. This then in their eyes seemed a fit occasion to bende the Constable against both the Prince, and his owne ne-

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all their shadowes of vertue did then as by day appeare. In this place cometh into sight so many to true discourses, that I am euē in a perplexitie, not knowing which to take, the number of those which presently do appeare is so infinite. Of one thing I am sure, and that is this, that at this day there is no French man, hauing any knowledge in worldly affayres, but that he is able to make an other Legend of the particular actes of these Guisians, in case he will take so much leysure as to gather together all that he knoweth: wherefore I hope to be excused, although I doe onely set in hande this worke which requireth both more hands and wittes.

King Francis being dead, as is aforesaid, and the Cardinal when he was euē readie to giue vp the Ghost, hauing procured him to vtter these words: Lorde forgiue me my sins, & impute not vnto me whatsoeuer my officers in my name and authoritie haue done: The Guisians minded to followe a new counsayle, which was to put of their lyons skinne, that they could no longer keepe without manifest daunger of being drawen to flaying, and to put on the foxes cace. Nowe therefore they determined to folowe their hunte through the Queene mothers meanes: They promised her that if she will fauour them, they will set to their handes to keepe her in the chiefe degree. Also the more to put this hammer into her head, they doe alleadge vnto her, that the Princes through her wincking at matters being so euill dealt withall, can do no lesse then wishe her harme, seeking all meanes to bring her downe, to the ende to set vp the Constable and the house of Chastillon, whereby afterward to make more alterations: That the estates will disgrace her, vnlesse she goeth out at the back doore to meete them: also although then the Guisians were excluded, yet haue they so many seruants & friends, that for a long whyle they could withstand the Princes. In the meane time that she should retayne her authoritie, & that when her children should come to age, the gouernment of the Princes & their partakers should vanish away.

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The Queen being as crafty as they, knew how to take hold of this proffer, and so to get in betwene both parties, that bending sometimes one way, sometimes an other, to this present she hath kept the place, to the confusion of those who had thither lifted her. Hauing thus found so good an attourney, who at once reconciled them to the King of Nauarre, and gaue forth speeches that she would main- teine the Guisians against all their enemies and misre- porters, they beganne somewhat to assure them selues. Now therefore remained no more to doe, but to beate downe first the Prince of Conde, who would not be han- dled as his brother the King of Nauarre, then Montmo- rency, and then the Chastillons. Hereupon came to fight the goodlyest determination for their purpose in the worlde. They perceiued the number of Protestantes still to increase in all partes of France, also that the Prince of Conde and the Chastillons were openly of that profes- sion, for the Prince had made manifest declaration there- of, hauing caused Genly and others to certifie King Francis that he was so in deede. Yea euen in the hardest time of his affliction, he draue out of his chamber a priest, whom the Guisians had sent thither to sing Masse. As for the Admiral, he had in the full assembly at Foun- tainbleau presented their supplication to the King, ten- ding to the ende to obtaine some Churches and publik exercise thereof. He had also declared to the Queene mother that he would neuer abiure his Religion, but of- fered to dispute against the Cardinal. The lorde d'An- delot had of long time bene of the same profession, and it is knowen that at the accusation of the Duke of Guise, and by the solliciting of the Cardinal, the late King Henry had almost slaine him, when on a time he asked him if the Masse were good, and that he answered that it was a prophane and wicked thing. The Cardinal of Chastillon also began by litle and litle to forsake the Papaltye. This then in their eyes seemed a fit occasion to bende the Constable against both the Prince, and his owne ne-

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phues of Chastillon, the which they artificially afterward did, as shall be shewed in place conuenient. They concluded therefore a while not to medle with the Religion, for (said the Cardinal of Lorraine) as yet there were none but rascals of that profession, and therefore it were best to let some great and welthy men also enter into it, to the ende by their destruction to get some thing.

Now in making warre against the Protestantes, they shotte sundry wayes with owne selfe arrowe: for first they obtained the fauour of the Pope, the King of Spayne and others, of whom they looked for some helpe.

Secondly, they were assured that sundry of the best townes in the Realme, were so deeply rooted in Poperie, that it would be harde to plucke away their olde skinne without good store of stripes, also that with the least staye in the worlde, they would vse all resistance possible.

Thirdly, they knew the Queene mothers disease, who would hardly permit her children to be brought vp in Religion, for her selfe was of none at all: also that such countenance as for a while she might shewe, shoulde be only to the ende to winne the Protestantes, and to set them against the Catholickes, that whiles they were the one sorte bent against the other, her selfe might rule all, and so that they should haue no leysure to consider of or examine her actions. They had also a number of secret seruantes, who to the ende to robbe and make hauocke of the Protestantes goods, would become most Catholicke. The courtes of Parliament also were so compounded, that vnlesse iustice were reformed from the crowne of the head vnto the sole of the foote, the Protestantes should neuer prosper. Againe, hauing through the Queene mothers helpe the King and his brethren in their handes, they might easely vnder that shield fight against all their enemies, and in time order them as they listed, yea through their ouerthrowe become mightier then

then euer before. But yet there was one thing which troubled them, namely the prolonging of time, and the inconstancie of the Queene mother, which the Duke of Guise more feared then any other thing, together with the Prince of Condes liuelinesse: To remedye therefore all this, they procured (as is afore said) their atonement with the King of Nauarre, which was so brought about, that by the same meanes he resigned to the Queene mother in presence of the Duke of Guise, and of the Cardinal of Lorraine, all such right as he might pretende vnto the regencye of the King and the Realme, neuer to quarell, demaunde or accept the same againe, and thereof gaue them an acquittance sealed with his owne hande.

Hauiug thus gotten this point, they concluded that if the Prince seemed to deale with them, he should haue to doe with so strong a match, as that soone they should ouercome him: also that this might be the meanes to bend his brother against him, and so they should draw the one party to the Catholickes. As for the Queene, they determined a while to let her paunch some times one way, and some times another, curiously watching to what ende her behauiours would come. Again, they were well assured that hauiug this aduantage ouer the King of Nauarre, she would so practise the estates, that her auctority should be allowed of: also that them selues had such parte in her, that her inconstancie would turne to their commoditie: also that before the yere were passed, they should see some stirrings, whereby to helpe them selues vp againe.

One parte of that whereof they perceiued some likely-hoode, came to passe: but in the rest they were shrewdly deceiued. For whiles they sufficiently tormented the Protestantes with foure ciuill warres, & a horrible murder vnder Charles the ninthe, five of them came short home, and the most doulte of all remained behinde, & as for the most apparent of their discent, who at this present is Duke of Guise, he is in such estate, as (according to the prouerbe

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which runneth of such as are vpon the sea) A man can not well say whether he be aliue or dead : for God hath giuen him such a blow on the face, that he shall remaine blasted for euer. We must therefore consider what hurte they haue done to the King, his Realme, and them selues in all these ciuill warres: and as the thunderclappes alwayes before their comming doe shew by some tokens which goe before, their following to be at hande, euen so the Guisians before that they shotte their thunderboults into France, gaue forth certaine deafe noyses, practising here and there, whereby to become more furious after that they were once fortified. Being deliuered of that which they most feared, which was the researche for the Princes imprisonment, through such assurance as the Queene mother had rooted in their heartes, also being reconciled to the King of Nauarre, hauing, as is afore said, procured the King lately deceased, to declare that he of his owne absolute auctoritie had caused the Prince of Condye to be emprisoned: they determined to goe to the estates, there to heare what would be said, and so helpe their matters as much as might be possible. But before they goe any further, they enter league with the Cardinals of Tournon and of Armignac, the Duke of Nemours, the Marshals of S. Andrewes and of Brissac, the lordes of Rendan, Martigues, Sipierre, Monluc, la Motte Gondrin, la Suze, Sansfac, Saigny and many other lordes and captaines, who hoped to become mighty, riche and welthy through the ciuill warres, which (said the Guisians) the Princes would bring in, together with the alteration of the Principallitie. The voice hereof caused they to be sounded in the King of Nauarres eares, who in stead of prouiding according to his duety there against, began to faint, and to resigne all his auctoritie, as anon we will more amplye declare. Therof ensued the order the one and twentieth day of December 1562. established in the Kings council, touching the gouernement of the estates of the Realme: wherein the Queene mother was planted vpright.

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In the meane time happened a chance very agreable to the Cardinal, but his ioy continewed not. The deputies of about fourty baylywickes and Seneschalties of the realme, alleaged that their auctoritie was out, because King Francis had summoned them, & he being now dead, they must needs haue new remembrances. The Cardinal & his faction supposed that although this could not wholly dissolue the estates, yet would it somewhat delay them, whiles in the meane time they might practise some thing: but through the wisdom of the Chaunceler and others, it was agreed that they should proceed, seeing that the royal dignitie died not but was represented in his successor. Also in case these declaratiōs had delaied the estates, then had it gone wrong with the Guisians, for in their new remembrances they also should haue receiued new commissions. The Queene mother also fearing lest they should smel out the writing, which with threats she had wrested from the King of Nauarre, and thereupon had examined her doings, and corrected her as appertained, for working so trecherously against the peoples libertye, hastened the matter forward, whereby the Guisians gotte most.

They therupon gessed that which was true, namely that at this assembly they would deale in matters as wel of Religion as of estate: they were also assured that at that time Religion should be the chiefeest, which greatly reioyced them: yea they determined with all their might to heaue at that wheele, to the ende the other might remaine vndecided, or if necessity driue them to giue accompt of their administratiō, they entended to present vp their reckoning in a warlike fielde; there to be examined & proued at the swordes point, wherein they assured them selues to make so fayre a broyle, that their wronges together with the rights of their aduerse party, should there stray away together. They must therefore earnestly deale in Religion, and with the same to cloye the Huguenots, who with earnest affection, purposed no other matters but to thinke vpon the liberty of their consciences, accompting al bodily bondage

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dage somewhat tolerable, so that the principal might remaine in his full perfection. But yet they were sore discontented: for the one could not consist without the other, also Godlinesse without iustice in this world hath but a feeble foundation: as there were some that said at the same time, that if the establishment of the realme in her pristinate glorie, and the reformation of Religion did not both goe together, we shoulde yet beholde and finde greater mischiefes then before, which experience hath now taught to those who then woulde beleue nothing, and God grante that the French nation may in time learne.

This determination being taken, the Cardinal of Lorraine practised all meanes to haue the charge of making the oration in the name of the three estates vnto the King, whereunto the Clergie did consent: and therefore did send one named Griueau a Canon of the holy Chappel, vnto the third estate for to obtaine their graunte, but he had presently an open answere, that they would not accept him to speake for them of whom they minded to complaine: and vpon this occasion, he refrained from speaking to the nobilitie, taking in the meane time such hold of this answere, as thereby he might turne it to his owne commoditie: for he assured the Catholikes, namely the Clergie, that now the Huguenots would tread them downe, vnlesse in time they withstood their determinations, and therefore consequently they ought in the oration for the clergie, especially to stand vpon that point, for seing the third estate had so detected it selfe, and protested against him who was one of the principal members of the Apostolike seate, they now would not spare the other smaller dependances. Hereupon the Clergie chose for their speaker one named Quintin, a forsaker of the religion, and at that time a doctor of the Canon Lawe at Paris. The nobilitie chose the Lord of Rochforte, and the third estate, Lange an aduocate of Burdeaux.

The estates The estates began to be holden the thirteenth day of
at Orleans. December, in a house provided for the same purpose: Thither

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ther came the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, also the Duke of Guise, to the end by hearing the oratiōs, to apply the same so much as they might to their own cōmodities. The first day was spent in hearing the Chancelers oratiō, which litle or nothing touched them, for he spake but generally. The Deputie of the third estate stood vpon taxing the ignorance, couetousnes and dissolutions of the Ecclesiastical persons, not particularly touching any. Rochfort in the name of the Nobilitye did much commend the deliue ry of the gouernment vnto the Queen mother, noted certain abuses in the Clergy and Iustices, & after that he had desired the King to maintaine the nobilitie in their priuiledges, he offred vp a supplication, wherein he desired some churches for the gentlemen protestants. Quintin on the clergies behalfe, made a long oration or inuectiue against the protestants, ioyning against the mightiest, in couert wordes taxing the Admiral, who had presented the supplication of them of Normandie which desired Churches.

These orations put the Cardinal and his brethren in good hope: for they perswaded them selues that in case the estate of Religion went forward, as it was very likely, the same would be the vndoubted meanes to seperate the Cōstable frō the Chastillons, & to make the Catholikes striue against the protestants: so in the meane time themselves would grow strongest.

In this thought chanced an other matter which somewhat serued their purpose, although the pursuite thereof were to them preiudicial. The deputies who were appointed to visite the rōules of the estates, hauing made their reporte vnto the priuie counsell, the King of Nauarre and the Chancellor to the couent of the Franciscans, to speake with the estates there assembled, where they began to talke of the restitutiō of excessiue gifts, of discharging the Kings debts and such other like matters: but this could not be cōpassed before that those who in the time of Héry 1st & Frācis the 2nd had had 1st whole dealings in matters of estate & in 1st treasury, were reduced into great extremity.

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Of this motion was the Queene mother very glad, as one assured that by reason of her regencie, she should not be molested, & therefore determined to heave at that wheele, thereby to pul downe those whome she accompted to hie next her owne person. The King of Nauarre had not medled at al, but the Guisians, the Constable, and the Marshal of S. Andrewes were deepest in this matter: there was therefore but one onely remedie wherwith to breake this blowe, which was by troubling the whole estate of the Realme. For the attaining whereunto, and for the more comodious compassing of al things hereunto requisite, in steade of proceeding in this point, God who iustly was displeased, minding to begin to scourge the French Nation, permitted them to remit the estates vnto the moneth of May next ensuing: which was the thing that the Guises especially sought for, neither was the Constable anie whit sorie, notwithstanding he had often protested that he was readie to giue vp his accompres.

The King of Nauarre being yet somewhat affected vnto the Religion, his brother the Prince of Conde, and the Chastillons sought to aduance the said Religion, and that they might the better do, in case for a while they deferred dealing in the other point, which shortly after they might neuerthelesse easely enough take in hand againe. But they were deceiued through the ambition of the Queene mother, the dastardlinesse of the King of Nauarre, the practises of the Guisians without the Realme, and the driftes of the Constable within the kingdome, whom vnder colour of Religion, they had separated from his nephues.

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trouble.* In this meane time the yong King and his brethren were in the Queene mothers handes, who onely marked which side would be strongest, to the end to the same to commit both her selfe and her children: and because she had suffered much at the Guisians hands in the time of Francis the second, she could nowe haue wished that the Protestants might haue bene masters, being assured that she

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she could more easily haue delt with them : for she had al-
 readie in her hands the Chastillons. The King of Nauarre
 suffred him self to be led euerie way, and as for the Prince
 of Conde, in case she withstoode not the amends for such
 iniuries as he pretended through his imprisonment to
 haue bene done vnto him, she accompted him as hers, yea
 she looked to finde in him a new staffe wherewith to sup-
 presse the Guisians. The Cardinal of Lorraine vnder-
 standing the Prince to be readie to come to the court, de-
 parted from the same vnder pretence of residence in his
 Archbishoppricke of Reims, leauing behind him his bro-
 ther as a spie, and others to the end to practise according
 as matters might fall out. After that the King had wel
 receiued the Prince of Condie, and that in ful counsel he
 had iustified him selfe, he was permitted to sue out more
 ample declarations, & for the same purpose went to Paris.
 Soone after this fell an other controuersie, which much
 molested the Duke of Guise and his partakers, yea, with-
 out the policie of the Queene mother, who at this time
 stoode them in good stead, and sought in time to come to
 aide her selfe, they had at the same instant bene quite vn-
 horsed : for the King of Nauarre through the solliciting
 of some who sawe meetly cleare, did complaine to the
 Queene of the too great authoritie which the Duke of
 Guise tooke vpon him, who at al times had bene her ad-
 uersarie: also that the said Duke of Guise continuing about
 the King, he could not remaine, and therefore that it was
 expedient that either the one or the other departed from
 the Court : after that the Queene had alleaged some ex-
 cuses tending to the ouerthrowe of this matter, the saide
 controuersie procéeded so farre, as that the next morning
 the King of Nauarre put on his bootes, and was readie to
 depart, accompanied with the Princes of the blood, the
 Constable, the Lords of Chastillon and manie other great
 Lords. Now the Queene seing that remaining among the
 Guisians onely, the world was at an end, both of her selfe,
 and of them also : for her owne conseruation, fained to
procure

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procure their comoditie, to the end in case they yet once againe got the masterie, they should not harme her. She sent therefore to fetch the Constable, causing the King to command him not to depart, by the compassing whereof al this matter was broken of, and the King of Nauarre sent to fetch backe his mulets, which alreadie were gone as farre as Melun.

This controuersie being dispersed, raised a voyce that the Queene maintained the Guisians against the Princes of the blood: insomuch that the particular estates of Paris proceeded and began to touch the chiefe points of the estate, not forgetting the article of yelding vp the accompts. The Guisians were expressely named, with full determination to seeke al meanes possible to forbid them anie entry into the priuie council, before they had giuen vp their aforesaid accompts. The Queene mother of the one side greatly reioyced in seeing the Guisians her chiefe enemies by this meanes in danger. Againe, on the other side she was in some care as concerning her regencie. To provide therefore against al inconueniences, she through the aide of the Constable made a new agreement with the King of Nauarre, in such wise as the said King was pleased, and moued the Duke of Guise to counterfeite humilitie, which he now more then vsually did put in practise. She sent also for the Prince of Conde to come and seale to this accorde, & vsed the helpe of the Marshal of Montmorencie, in amending and correcting al that had bene concluded in the particular estates of Paris, touching the gouernement of the Realme.

The Cardinal dealt with the Queen mother in al these matters, to whom he writ often, and notwithstanding eche of them mistrusted other, yet had they so long kept household together, that the taking of this path seemed most necessary for both their conseruations. And in deede we may wel say that al the policies of the Guisians did neuer stand them in so good stead, as did the only wit of the Queen mother, who neuerthelesse did mortally hate the: but this
shal

shalbe shewed in place more cōuenient. Here may we behold our poore king & kingdome, swimming & waiting for present shipwrack, for y^e cōpassing wherof the Guisians finding thēselues to weake, vnder pretēce of Religiō dō ioine to their faction the Constable, prouoking him against his nephue the Admiral, who openly professed the Gospel, & so do aide thēselues with al conuenient policies. The Marshal of S. Andrewes also herein stood thē in good stead: for he did beat into y^e Constables head, that whatsoeuer the estates had propounded concerning the reuoking of excessive rewards, the Admiral had procured, to the end to bridle his vncle the said Constable, and so to compel him necessarily to cōsent to the alteration of Religion. The Earle of Villars being moued against the Admiral for that he had reprobued his euil demeanures in Lāguedoc, did also thrust at y^e same wheele, so that notwithstanding whatsoeuer declarations or persuasiōs the Marshal of Montmorency could alleage, yet did the Constable ioyne to the Guisians, who made their leagues to the intēt by robbing the King, & his realme of their faithful seruants to bring al into confusion.

The Catholikes finding thē selues through such leagues *Commoti-* fortified, began to rise, & therupon through the policies of *ons of the* the Guisians, there was a noise raised, that the Admiral had *Catholikes* endeuoured to expel the Masse, & to plant the Religion in France without anie adoe. The Catholikes therefore of Beauuais a bishoppricke pertaining to y^e Cardinal of Chastillon began, being folowed by the Catholikes of Amiens, Pōthoise & other places. At Paris also were Mūkes, & such other trompets of seditiō, who greatly aduanced the Guisians practises. In deed vpon the first noise of these broyles the Kings letters patents were sent forth to al iudges royal in the Realme, with strait defence that no man should molest other by the name either of Papist or Huguenot, wherby to prouide for the suretie & libertie of either sort.

The court of Parliament of Paris which consisteth most of the seruants of the house of Guise sent earnest declarations vnto the priue council as touching this Edict,
but

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but al was but a new practise whereby to shuffle the cardes as we say, and so to heape one discord vpon another vnder the goodliest title in the worlde, namely of Religion. In the meane time, the Cardinal wayted for the yong King at Reims, who was brought thither to be anointed, whereas the Duke of Guise was so presumptuous, as to steppe in betwene the King of Nauarre, and the Duke of Montpensier, so to march after the King, and by such sleighthes to become equal vnto the princes of the blood. There the Cardinal finding his strength sufficient, hauing wonne this point, to propound Religion as a cloke to his ambition, did then grievously complayne of the protestantes, declaring that during the parly concluded vpo concerning the determination of these controuersies, the King ought not to permit any kinde of innouation, and that for the more assured prouision thereagainst, it was requisite to make an inuiolable law: also to the same end to assemble in the Parliament of Paris, the Princes, Lords, & others of the Kings priue counsaile, there to frame an arrest, which euer after should solemnely be obserued. But al this was no other fauouring a newe policie whereby to hasten the practises of the house of Guise. Now the Cardinal knew wel that in this assembly of the Prelates for the determination of matters of Religion, there would be nothing dispatched, also that while things hung thus in suspense, the King should be called vpon to permit the exercise of the Religion openly: which being once granted, the prince of Condy and the Chastillons would step in afterward to withstand him: for the withstanding wherof, he supposed y in preuenting this parly through an other assembly at Paris, where he had men enough at commandement, he might get somewhat, or at the least so bend the one sort against the other, that himselfe should lose nothing. This was the cause of the assignation of that assembly: whereunto the Queene mother agreed almost for the same considerations, and the contrary parties in hope it would redound to the commoditie of the whole realme. Here may the readers consider what
journeys

iourneys to and fro the Guisians practised as well within the realme as without, also how they for their owne maintenance remoued both heauen and earth. The Spaniarde and diuers Italian Princes were daily aduertised of the estate of the affaires, and then did the Queene mother stand the Guisians in steade of a secretarie, to the end to make out goodly dispatches in the Kings name against the Princes of the blood, whome in the meane time they seemed greatly to fauour. For at that time, namely the 13 of Iune 1561. did the Parliament of Paris, al the chambers being assembled in their red gownes in the great chamber of pleas, in the presence of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise with others, pronounce their sentence concerning the innocencie of the Prince of Conde: also about the end of August following, was the atonement made betwene the said Prince, and the Duke of Guise.

During these matters, the Edict of Iuly was published in this assemblie of the Princes and Lords of the Parliament of Paris: wherby the Protestants enjoyed more freedom and libertie, then euer before they had had. There was it againe concluded, that the prelates should be called, and the ministers of the Religion should haue safe conduites to the end to seeke some meanes of agreement. Then began the Cardinal to hope wel of his owne matters, for he was sure to finde a readie way how to bende the Churches of the Confession of Ausbourg, against the reformed Churches of France, by reason of the Supper. This being brought to passe, besides that he should bring the ministers into derision, he should also hinder the Prince of Conde and the Chastillons, who openly fauoured them, from all prouision to withstand such driftes and preparatiues, as the Duke of Guise and his adherents began to frame, wherby to giue vp their accouits vpon the speares pointe, for so they might haue no succour of the Germanes, who would easilie be perswaded that al these troubles in the Realme proceeded only of Religion.

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The Guisians would faine haue found some meanes so to bring the Prince of Condie on sleepe, that he might haue bene drawn from the Chastillons: But their consciences did so reprove them, because of so manie displeasures as they had done vnto him, that they left him, being sufficiently contented with setting the Constable and others against him: Howbeit before they came to handie blowes, they deemed it necessarie yet to strike one stroke more. They perceiued the King of Nauarre and his brother the Prince of Conde to agree wel enough, and supposed (as it was most true) that so long as these two Princes should continue in vnitie together, al the French nobilitie and communaltie (notwithstanding Religion) would bend to them, to the end to expel the Guisians, or els to bring them to accompts, & so consequently restore the Realme to her pristinate brightnes & dignitie. They also perswaded y^e Queene mother how dangerous the vnion of these Princes might be vnto her: she therefore requested the to provide so much as in the lay, and promised of her owne part not to be slacke in y^e matter, as in deede she was not, but vsed such dishonest meanes, as in the discourse of her gouernment are at large set downe. Now the Guisians during y^e raigne of Francis the second had gottē to their seruice y^e Lord of Escars the King of Nauarres chamberlaine, & through the same espie had discovered al his masters secrets, who finally hauing manifestly detected the said d'Escars through certaine letters which he had written, did for the same turne him away. Then did he halfe bend him self vnto the Guisians factiō, who sent him word to endeouour to come again into fauour with his old master, there to doe the such seruice as before time, namely to entertaine his said master in al his pleasures, doing his messages vnto y^e Ladies of the court, & so cōsequently withdrawing him from Religion, which required an vtter abandoning vnto al wantonnes & abominations: therupon so many men were set on worke, that finally the King of Nauarre reuoked the said Descars, wherat many begā to foresee great mischiefs likely

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likely to follow: and assuredly it is said that the Cardinal of Lorraine hearing of this his calling againe, began to laugh, & as his custome was, clapping one hand within the other, said vnto diuers that he had not of long time heard anie newes that more contented him.

Ye haue heard already how the estates holden at Orleans *The estat* were proroged vnto May: and afterward through diuers *at Pon-* disturbances of such as intended to giue no account but on *toise.* horseback in armour, they were adiourned vnto the end of August at Pontoise, where they had bene appointed. There among other things which touched the Guisians, but especially the Duke of Guise there present, the propositiō of the lord Bretagne in his oratiō in the name of the third estate, cōcerning the euil dealings of the said Guisians, did chiefly pinch them: the wordes because they be notable, haue we here set downe. Your subiects (said he speaking to the King) haue bene molested with infinite subsidies, both ordinary & extraordinary, wherupon haue ensued also, the augmētting of impost, the wages of fiftie thousand footmē, the collations, the twentie franckes vpon euery steeple in the Realme, the leuie of eight crownes vpon the officers royal, sixe vpon the aduocates of the Parliament, foure vpon the Burgeses, widowes & artificers, two vpon the rest of the aduocates, practitioners, notaries, and sergeants, borrowed & not borrowed, free holdes, new gaines, money leuied after the battaile of S. Laurence, alienation of the demaines, helps, gables, fines taken vpon offices both olde & new, the suppressiō of certain of the same, money for cōfirmations, coyne raised vpon houses & towne houses, pay leuied vpon consignatiōs, vessels of gold & siluer billeted, warlike munitions, victuals for camps and armies leuied within these thirty yeres, horse and furniture of artillarie, erecting of sales of wine, furniture, apparrel, and food for souldiers, wages and pay for souldiers in diuers particular townes, faultpeter and poulder which the people must furnish, officers wages, men of armes and footmen vnpayd, conduct money into Bretagne, with other infinite sūmes

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vnder sundry names and titles, and al tending to the getting of your subiects money: so that by reason of the said in supportable charges, your pore subiects are so weakened, enfeebled & impouerished, that at this present, Sir, they haue nothing left to offer or present vnto your maiesty, other thē their good & faithful willes. They oftē haue examined them selues, & tryed their whole abilities in your maiesties affaires, but to their great grieve they haue found themselves destitute of al meanes of helping or succoring you, and therefore doe most desire, that it may please you to deferre & put of the succour which you at this time do attend at their hāds, vntil some other time, whē through as wel their own diligēce, labour, trauail, sparing & sobriety, as also through such good entreaty as they hope for at your hands, they shal haue recovered part of their former abilitie & power. Neither can they be perswaded, considering the great subsidies of them, leuyed during the reigns of the Kings your late father and brother, that you can be so greatly endebted. Calling also to minde, whatsoeuer all auncient histories or recordes as wel holy as prophane, haue left of al antiquitie as testimonies of valiant deedes, they do finde that neuer any monarch, King or soueraigne Prince hath died indebted in such excessiue summes as did the late King Henry your Honorable father, how long or continual warres the said Monarches haue susteined or enterprised, for the augmenting of the boundes and limites of their realmes and empires. And to say the truth, so great and wonderful are the debts, that quite emptying al the treasuries of your dominions, and particularly researching euery subiect, yet shal you hardely finde goulde or siluer in their possessions equiualeēt vnto the said sumes. Which notwithstanding it seemeth very hard and incredible, yet is the knowledge thereof more grievous vnto your subiectes, because their power is not equal to their desires. This therefore hath moued them to coniecture that such great summes of money leuyed among your people, neuer came wholly into your coffers, neither was euer conuerted

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uerted to the comoditie of your predeceffors, but through vnreasonable giftes and such other meanes, haue in part remained in the hands of some particular persons, whose houses do now triumph and flourish through the harmes of your said subiects. For the reparation therefore of such former gouernment, also to preuent that in time to come you fall not into any such bottomles pit of debts, they do most humblye besech you to ordeine that the treasurers & ouerseers of your treasury, who hitherto haue had the handling & disposing of the same during the reignes aforesaid, may come & bring in an accōpt of their administration before such delegates as your selfe shal chuse, or through the assistance of the estates euery prouince and gouernment shal name: by this meanes may such be quailed and reuoked to their dueties, as in time to come might cōmit the like trespass. Again one of the first articles contained in the rōules which the third estate presented, were these wordes. That such might bring in their accompts as were accomptable, & had had the ordering of the treasurye, for that the said thirde estate could not beleue but that thereby sundrye great abuses might be found out: also that in the meane time aswell such as were accomptable, as also al other who had bene dealers in the treasurye, euen being of the priue counsaile, might neuerthelesse be forbidden entrie into the said council, together with the execution of their said offices, vntil the said accomptes were made other where then in the chamber of accompts, and in the presence of the delegates of the estates, and that al restes and debtes were payed. also that especial reuiue might be made of the accompts of those who had receiued the particular loanes of the sommes of eight, six, foure and two crownes, the twenty frankes of eche steple, the munitions and victuals, the furnitures of the sales of wines and other necessary things for the warres, the money leuied vpon the walled townes after the battaile of S. Laurence, and al other extraordinary payes leuied vpon the people. Also that al excessiue pensions & vnreasonable giftes whatsoeuer might

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bereuoked without exception of any person, sauing the Queene mother, (who had solicited the estates to pursue these matters, for the causes rehearsed in the discourse of her gouernement) for that it was euident that this money had neuer bene employed vnto such vse as it had bene destined vnto, namely, the relieuing of the kings affaires. now may we wel thinke whether these motions clawed the Guisians. The Cardinal more staied thē his brother the Duke, made no shew of ought, as if he had sought to make ready his accompts. but in the others forhead a man might reade a thousand threats against the estate of the realme, the effects whereof appeared within fīue or six moneths after. For their better prouiding therefore for their own affairs, they determined as touching the giuing vp of their accompts, that they would practise al meanes possible, rather then be brought into any such necessitie, also that in case vnder pretence of religion they found no way, then would them selues endeuour to make one, by associating to them their partakers, and so falling vpon the Protestantes, who they were assured that the Prince of Condie, the Admiral & other Lords would defend: & by this meanes they should so mingle these accompts, that together with forreine succours they would exalt themselves higher then euer, and hauing this faire pretēce of religion, they cōsequently did assure theselues of the fauour of al Catholikes. Moreouer the Cardinal beholding such numbers of people dayly declaring themselves protestants, according to his wont, smiled in his sleue, saying that this was the reward of the souldiers who had more need, and a proper meane to content manye both great and smal, who sought nought but the spoile.

The disputation also at Poissy betweene the ministers who were to treat vpon religion, & the Prelates who also were called to helpe to pay the Kinges debtes, was freely graunted vnto, which was in hope to moue some controuerſie betweene them and the Germanes that held with the confession of Ausbourg, either (peraduenture because
he

he accompted them ignorant, as he had euery where tearmed them so to be) to the end in so notable an assembly to astonish them, either els with his prating, together with the sophistical reasons of some Sorbonistes, who were sent for there to dispute, vtterly to take away their speches, and make them dumbe: But afterwarde more deeply weying the matter, he called to minde an other drift, which was to keepe the Popes legate in a readinesse, to the end that if this disputation turned more to the protestants aduantage then he wished, he then might in time breake of this assembly, referring the ministers to the general council appointed at Trente: He also minded thereby still to bridle the Queene mother, whose inconstancie the Guisians greatly mistrusted, although wrongfullie, seeing that she was more perfecte in playing her parte then them selues: although shee communicated not her whole minde vnto them, but suppressed whatsoeuer she thought not conuenient for their aduancement. Now had they alreadye shaken the Kinge of Nauarre, by meanes of the Lorde d'Escars: that wall muste they therefore wholly pul downe, to the ende that gatheringe vp the stones thereof, they might with the same stone the protestants, as afterwarde they did: Large promises were thereunto requisite, wherein the Popes legate and the Kinge of Spaynes ambassadour, at the Guisians suite did lustily set to their helpe.

As for the disputation at Poissy, in asmuch as the orations and discourse thereof is already published, and also shal hereafter more largely be declared, we need not here stand long therevpon, seeing also that hereafter we will cast out some worde in discoursing vpon the Cardinals diuinitie and religion, and of his braue oration made in the same assembly, the sixtenth day of September in the yere of our Lord 1561. In this place it shalbe sufficient, to note certaine of his policies against the quietnes of the Realme. First then to cause fooles to thinke that the Preates were not thither assembled for nothing, he framed

*The disputation
at Poissy.*

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diuers articles touching the institution of Bishops, the dignitie of Cathedral Churches, and such other like, but not mentioning anie one point of doctrine: For they al were before agreed not to yeelde anie thing vnto the ministers, for feare of being taken for seducers, and so of making an irreparable breach in the dignitie of the Romish seate. In this wise did the Cardinal scorne the King and al his council, who pretended to anie reformation.

The ministers of the reformed Churches in the Realme, were willed to send thither some of their fellowes, and so they did, therin obeying the commandements of the King and the Queene mother. Peter Martyr and Theodore Beza were brought from Zurich and Geneua, where they professed diuinitie, to the end more precisely to consider of al controuersies. The Cardinal then seing him selfe to farre shipped in matters wherein he was but a nouice, thought to preuent it. So soone therefore as Theodore Beza was come, he went to him into the Queene mothers chamber, where after certaine talke he was forced to say to the sayd Beza, that he was glad he had heard him speake, also that he hoped they should wel enough agree together. But this was but dissimulation, as the Ladie of Cursol at his departure shewed him, saying, that for that night he was become an honest man, but in the morning he woulde be turned: as more playnely appeared in that his suppostes did publish abroad, that the Cardinal had stopped Beza his mouth, and brought him to his opinion. But when the contrarie was seene in the oration of the sayde Beza, the Cardinal was so abashed, that beeing among the Doctours and Prelates, he coulde not but say, I woulde to God that that man, (meaning Beza) had either bene dombe, or our selues deafe: Thereunto perceiuing that they must answere, it was thought expediēt that a Sorbonist named Despēce, an assured seruant of the house of Guise, together with certaine others should pen the oration which the said Cardinal did afterward pronounce, wherein nothing answering to

to the Ministers propositions, they determined to stand vpon two only pointes, namely of the Church, and of certaine questions thereupon dependinge: also of the Lordes Supper: wherein he did nothing, but playster vp certaine sophistical syllogismes, and therefore I thought it superfluous here to inserte the same oration, which more fitly may be seene in the history of our time. After the end of this oration, followed certaine ample discourses of Despençe, Sainctes, and other Iesuites and Monckes whom the Ministers sufficiently answered. Now was the Cardinal gladde to set eche party in a heat with other, to the ende that the audience being vexed, all might be referred to some conference either priuatly or in writing, whilest in the meane time the Pope might send some new precept wherewith to stoppe the Prelates mouthes, who waited for nothing els: hauing for certaine moneths thus debated, when the Queene perceiued that the Ministers and Prelates could not in any one pointe agree, no not so much as in the article of worshiping of Images, also that the Prelats & Doctours did not very wel agree in the same point, she brake vp the said disputation, whereof the Sorbonistes were so gladde, that they could not refraine from shewing a thousand tokens of friendship vnto Theodore Beza their principall enemy, out of whose handes they escaped better then they hoped for: But the Cardinal had procured the Pope to write vnto the Prelates, that vnder payne of Excommunication, they should referre the determination of such controuersies vnto the council of Trente, which came in good time for those our masters who were then sore busied. As for the confession of Ausbourg which was the trappe, whereinto the Cardinal hoped to haue brought the Ministers, they so wisely behaued them selues, that he stumbled thereinto so that all the shame returned vpon him selfe.

During these disputations, the renowned edict of Ianuary was published by the aduise & consent of the chiefeſt & most notable persons in the Realme, & was the most conuenient

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of Ianua*

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uenient way to appease the tumultes, and to reduce the estate vnto his pristinate beautie and renowme: But the Guisians could not tolerate the same, because that if all things had quietly succeeded in France, they should haue bene called to their accomptes, whereof none was readye, except in leauying of souldiers and foreine power, as well as of the Realme, wherein they trauayled as followeth.

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We haue here before seene how vnder pretence of Religion, there was a barre layd betwene the Constable and his nephues of Chastillon, whereby the Guisians might the more fortifie them selues, and the sooner ouerthrowe the said lordes of Chastillon, whom they hated and mightily feared. The Constable thereby beganne by litle and litle to be offended with his said nephues, but especially after he was certified that they together with the Queene mother, had bene the chiefe motioners of the estates to call for accomptes: for in them should him selfe be examined, notwithstanding he were not by twenty partes so deepe as the said Guisians. Hauing thus wonne the principal officer of the crown, they associated to them the Marshal of S. Andrewes, who was as all men doe know, one of the most accomptable. Then tooke they counsayl among them selues, wherein the Cardinal alwayes vsed this policie, namely to propound Religion the better to cloke his intents, & made this resolution. First that the superintendence of al affaires should be committed vnto the Catholike King, who should in the beginning accuse the king of Nauarre as a fauorer of a new Religion: & should sollicite him through fayre promises to forsake all, and to take the Catholickes parte: In case the King of Nauarre remaine obstinate, then should the Spaniard, in continewing his glosing promises sometimes accompanied with threatens, in winter time rayse souldiers, and then on a suddein set vpon him. Also if there they should finde any resistance, then should the Duke of Guise declare him selfe captaine of the Catholicke Confession, and so goe and assaile the said King
of

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of Nauarre on another side, who by that meanes should soone be ouerthrowne. The Emperour and Catholicke Germaine Princes, should be requested to hinder the Nauarrians of all succour. The Catholickes should re-
teine the Protestant Switzers: The Duke of Sauoye should assaile and vterly roote out the Geneuians to the terrour of all others.

Thus much touching the first point of their league. Now as for France, they determined not to pardon any one who had bene knowen once to haue bene a protestante. The commission for the murder was allotted to the Duke of Guise, who also had the charge of rooting out the whole race of the Bourbons, for feare lest in time to come any one of their progenie should haue reuenged the same murders, and restored the Gospel.

Then should they haue raysed warre against the Protestant Princes, and haue lent the Emperour and the Catholicke Princes all the money arising of the confiscations of so many Protestantes as should be murdered in France: and the Cardinals, Bishops, and other holy fathers should be cottized to furnish the expenses of this holy warre.

These goodly articles did the Cardinall deuise. And the Constable minding nothing but his religion, was then so daseled, that he could not perceiue that notwithstanding his family were not named, yet the houses of Chastillon and Bourbon being ouerthrowne, his race could not continue. As for the Marshall of saint Andrewes, he was gladde to see the accomptes in this wise rendered, for that in steade of restoring the most, because he had most receiued, he now hoped vpon a newe receipt, and of neuer being coumptable for any thing: and besides that the Guisians tended to the same ende, they did moreouer perswade them selues at that blow to be bathed in all their enemies blood.

For the bringing therefore of these things to effect, the
Guisians

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Guifians departed from the Court about the end of November, manifesting their discontentation, which sone after did more augment by reason of certaine proceedings houlden against the Duke of Nemours, whom they had procured to steale away, & cōuey the lorde of Orleans into Lorraine, where hauing him at their deuotion, they purposed to make him captaine of their enterprise. For at all assayes, they sought to haue sundry strings vpō one bow, because they yet knewe not which way the Queene mother would take. Howbeit thinking that in case the King of Nauarre would take their parte, the durst not ioyne with the Prince of Cōde for feare of being displaced, they sought to bring their first purpose to passe, by the ayde of Destars & others, through bringing him into a vaine hope of being restored to his dominions. Wherunto the Pope (as said his Legate, who was one of the chief solliciters of the matter) would assiste him, prouided alwayes that the said King of Nauarre would defend the Romish Church: the effect whereof did sone appeare, when the said King draue away the Ministers, and reuolted from the Religion: by reason whereof there fell out many doubtēs about the publication and verifying of the said Edict of Ianuarye.

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Sauerne.*

Not long before, the Guifians had written to the Duke of Wirtēberg, a protestant Prince, requesting him to conferre with them about the confession of Ausbourg, wherein they shewed some hope of a desire to be instructed. Vpon this cause, they came to Sauerne not farre from Strasbourg, where they had such conferēce with the said Prince about the fiftenth of February 1561, that al of them hauing protested to follow the doctrine of the said cōfessiō of Ausbourg, & the Cardinal hauing for the same purpose cōferred with Brentius the Duke of Wirtēberges principal Minister, the Duke of Guise did finally entreat this Prince that in fauour of their Religion, he would so labour the rest of the Protestāt Princes, that in as much as in auncient time the house of Lorraine stil appertained vnto the Empire, now in the same respect he & his brethē might be aduowed for
Princes

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Princes of the same, bearing voice in the Imperiall diets: wherby they might withdraw and exempt them selues out of the king of Frāces iurisdicō, hinder such succour as the Protestant Princes might sende to them of the Religion, and with the same to strengthen them selues, and finally in steade of recompence, afterward destroy the same Protestant Princes. As this Prince was at the point according to their request to procure them to be receyued, newes came into Germanie of the murder of Vassye, which the Duke of Guise had executed in his returne into France from the aforesayde towne of Sauerne. The Protestant Princes greatly wondered hereat, and that not without cause, seeing it was in maner scarce three dayes betweene the time that the Cardinal gaue with the one hand siluer and gilt cuppes to Brentius & other Germaine ministers, and that nowe with the other he sacked the Protestantes. But they had before determined to come strongly and armed into the citie of Paris, and thence to the Court, to the ende to be sure both of the towne, and of the King and Queene mothers persons, and so the more easely to compass their conspiracies. And to the ende to finde some honest couer for the Duke of Guises returne into France, he caused the King of Nauarre to call him home: howbeit he could not temper his rage vntil he came to the Court, but did discharge the same vpon the inhabitants of Vassye, as is afore sayde, beeing garded with men of armes, according to a determinatiō concluded vpon aboute three monethes before, namely that euery man should entise as many Gentlemen and men of armes as was possible, warning them to meete in their furniture nere vnto Paris, about the beginning of March, whereof the Queene mother and the King of Nauarre had bene sufficiently aduertised, and yet in stede of prouiding thereagainst, they deferred their matters from day to day, so that eche played his parte after a strange maner, and al in one tragedie. The Duke of Guise met at the time appoynted at Nantueil, where other his fautors did soone meete with him, whose

purpose

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purpose a man may easely coniecture, in that most of them comming thither there receyued their Easter rights, & put them selues in such estate, as like men do vse to doe when they thinke them selues nere vnto any daungerous enterprise. In the meane time, the Queene mother was counsailed that for the eschewing of these troubles, it were meete to keepe the Duke of Guise (being armed contrary to the Kings ordinances) fro passing through Paris, where the Prouost of Marchants and other of the principall did wayte for him: whereupon she diuers times sent for him to come to her vnto her house at Monceaux, where he shold be welcome, expressely forbidding him all entrie into Paris in such array, for the auoyding of such inconueniences as she foresawe likely to ensue: considering also the execution and slaughter lately by him committed at Vassy, for the which all men earnestly cryed vpon the King and her for iustice, and in respect of the same, al the realme was replenished with complaintes and lamentations. Hereunto the Duke of Guise answered, that he could not come to her, for that he had enough to doe to feast and to welcome such his friends as were come to visite him. Then after that the Queene had the second time written to him to come, he made no answer, but hauing receiued his friends, did according to the resolution afore taken touching their enterprise, take his iourney on the one side, & accompanied with his adherentes, came into Paris by S. Dionice gate, making his entrie in open armour, in which order he had still marched euen from the murder at Vassy. The Prouost of Marchants and three of the Counseylours of the citie assisted him in this entrie, with great companies of people, and exclamations of men thereunto hyred, euen as if the Kings owne person had bene there, crying aloud, *Live Lord of Guise*, whereat neyther he, neyther any of his company shewed any token of discontentation.

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The Guisians hauing strook this first stroke against the Kinges authoritie, and the estate of the Realme, proceeded on, and in Paris beganne to holde priuate councils.

Hereupon

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Hereupon the Queene mother lying at Monceaux, and hauing dayly aduertisementes, that the Guisians intended to seale vpon the Kinges person and her, determined hastily to departe and retire into some place of assurance. Shee came therefore to Melune, minding to get to Orleans, there to wayte in broader day light, to see howe matters wente, which nowe began to come to great confusion: But the Guisians sent the Prouost of Marchantes to crye after her, that vnlesse she returned, Paris and all was lost, because the Prince of Cōde was in armes, & the Parisians naked: and he so laboured, that the rebels had their weapons deliuered them, whereby to fortifie the Duke of Guise and his faction agaynst their enemies, and so to haue the redier opportunitie to sease vpon the Kings person. Also the more to hasten their woorke, they got the King of Nauarre vnto Paris, for this Prouost of Marchants incessantly cryed out at the Court, that the King of Nauarres presence was most necessary in Paris, to repressse the troubles, but through the Guisians dristes al was contrarie. For so soone as he was come, they heldē councils more narrowly then before, wherein among other things they determined, thorowly to assure them selues of Paris, and thence to driue away the prince of Cōde, as the only hinderer of their enterprise, touching the seasing vpō the King and Queene mother, and their bringing to Paris, to the end there hauing thē at cōmandemēt, to prosecute vnder their name and authoritie, their whole determinations. Finally, they did so much that they got the place, & toke the King & Queene mother, & brought them to the Loure: This done, notwithstanding whatsoeuer the chācellers & others declaratiōs, it was fully concluded to arreare open warre against the prince of Cōde and his adherents.

During these matters, the Prince of Conde sent to the King his protestation and declaration, conteining the causes that had moued him to take weapō, namely to the end to restore the King and his mother to their ful liberties, & to mainteine the Edictes, but especially the last which touched

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ched Religion: offering to go home to his owne house, in case the Duke of Guise would do the like. Now the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brethren and their adherents, considering that nowe there were two especiall pointes which they must needes craftily cloke, namely the Kings captiuitie, and the breaking of the Edict of Ianuarie, did diligently procure the dispatch of a declaration bearing date the eight of Aprill, wherein they cause the King to cōfesse that the report of his captiuitie is a false and slanderous lye, which the Prince of Conde and his partakers haue inuented to excuse his owne dealings, and that he and the Queene were in as free libertie as euer before, also that of their own accorde they came to Paris, there to prouide agaynst these troubles. These letters were soone allowed in the Parliament of Paris, where were many of the Guisians creatures. The playnlier also to scorne the King and all the realme, they inuented in their opinions an other crafty deuise, for within eight or ten dayes after these letters, they procured others, wherein it was declared that the Prince of Conde vnder a false and fayned pretence of Religion, was personally seased vpon by certaine seditious persons, who had him now in their possession.

Also to the ende to haue one full blowe at the Edict of Ianuarie, they in the same moneth dispatched other letters, wherein in the Kinges name they gaue out that he had bene aduertised, how that diuers numbers of people were retired to Orleans and other places, vnder colour of a certayn pretended feare of being searched in their consciences, and restrained from the benefite of the Edict of Ianuarie: He therefore declareth that he intendeth not to reuoke this Edict except within Paris, the suburbs & bayliwicke of the same, where he will permit no other exercise then of the Romish religion. These letters being repugnant to the Edict of Ianuarie, were presently receiued and allowed in the Parliament.

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nobles.*

This done, the Guisians hauing first vsed the Cōstables ayde to strike a stroke in Paris, & the the king of Nauarres helpe

helpe to driue away the Protestantes, did nowe sende out the Marshal of S. Andrewes on the one side, who executed cruelties sufficient, and them selues on the other side gathered power euery where, tooke the fieldes and vsed terrible deedes of hostilitie agaynst the Protestantes. We will therefore in this place onely briefly runne ouer matters, for it is enough to touche them onely by the way, referring the ample discourse vnto the historie of our time. First therefore they vsed the helpe of the Quene mother, of the King of Nauarre, of the Parliament of Paris, and of their owne secret seruants in the quayling of the Prince of Condies constancie, and separating him from the Lords of Chastillon, whom they minded first to ouerthrowe. But getting nought that way (for he had discovered their embushments, and had both in the Realme and abroad fortified him selfe agaynst the same) they now proceeded vnto violence, murdering the protestants in diuers townes of the Realme, and with incredible violence assaulting certayn places, whither the sayd Protestantes had for their owne safeties withdrawn them selues. And although the King of Nauarre were in name Lieutenant generall, and that the Constable remayned in his estate, yet did all thinges passe through the Guisians handes, who in smal time raysed all the realme into armes.

Then the Constable, the Marshal of S. Andrewes, & the Duke of Guise presented a request to the King & Queene mother, therein requiring the vtter abolishing of religion, the exercise wherof had fower moneths before bin graunted, That all officers of France, the housholde seruants of the King, his brethren & sister, all officers of iustice, warre, accompts, exchequer, treasure, and others bearing office, hauing charge, administration or cōmission from the king, should professe the same religion, and thereof make open declaration: and that al such as refused, delayed, or withstood the same, should be deprived of their estates, charges, offices, wages, administrations and commissions. That all Ecclesiasticall persons should doe the like, vnder

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payne of deprivation of their benefices. That all temples which had ben razed, should nowe be newe built, and satisfaction made for all damages, and the pullers downe of them punished. That all weapons taken without the King of Nauarres expresse commaundement, should be layde downe agayne, and that all men persisting in the bearing of them against the will of the sayde King of Nauarre, the Lieutenant generall representing the Kings person in all his Dominions, should be declared rebelles and enemies to the King and his Realme, That it may appertayne to the King of Nauarre onely, to keepe and assemble power in France, and the same to retaine certayne monethes for appeasing of the troubles. This done, they promised euery man to go home to their houses, yea (sayde they) euen to the end of the world into perpetuall exile, if nede so required. This did they the fourth day of May 1562. The same day they procured the King to commaund them not to depart from the Court, & therefore presented an other request to the Queene mother, therein offering to goe home to their houses, to the ende (sayde they) to obey the King of Nauarre. Vnto these requestes did the Prince of Conde sufficiently aunswere, who largely discouered the sleights of the Guisians, and did dayly fortifie him selfe, as well by his authoritie in this point, as also by certayne letters which the Queen mother wrote vnto him, comitting to his safegarde the mother and the children, and openly enough condemning the tyrannie of the Guisians.

It is hard to say, whether the policies or violences of the Guisians did most harme: and as for the cruelties which their souldiers exercised in sundry partes of France, especially the men of warre, together with some murderers in diuers townes, the posteritie wil wonder more in reading the historie of the yere 1562, then we who were the beholders of such horrible tragedies, as the Cardinal & his brethren played to the confusion of King Charles & his kingdom. For in their behauiours they vsed some sleights needefull to be marked. The Prince of Condies troupes
were

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were wel armed and resolved to fight, being compounded of the most valiaunt French Lordes, Captaines and souldiers. The Guisians therefore doubting the trial, hoped by their iourneys to and fro to disperse his armie, wherein the Queene mother and the King of Nauarre were employed. In the meane time, they daily surprised some places which the Protestants helde, gathered vp money, & called strangers out of all countreyes to the spoyle, and seeing themselves at the point to be beaten, about the ende of Iune through the ayde of the King of Nauarre they obteyned truce, and within two dayes after, the Duke of Guise departed from the campe at Baugencie with diuers others, whereupon they immediatly sent the Prince of Conde worde, that according to his request the Duke of Guise & his partakers were returned to their owne houses. Nowe was the Queene mother instructed what communication she should vse toward the Prince of Conde and the rest of the protestants: as did manifestly appeare in a letter which the Duke of Guise wrote to his brother the Cardinall of Lorraine, dated the 25. day of Iune, which being surprised, to the ende the playnlier to set forth these good peoples wittes, I haue here inserted as foloweth. I doe sende vnto you (writeth he) this bringer with all speede, to let you vnderstande, that yesterday al things were agreed, and I may say vnto you, that some are farre wide of their accomptes. Our mother (the Queene) and his brother (the King of Nauarre) sweare no other but by the faith that they owe vs, also that they will take no counsaile but of those whom you wot. To conclude, the reformed Religion, in well gouerning our selues, and standing stiffly vnto the ende, as we wil do, wil come to nought, and the Admirals partie be as euil handled as it possible. Al our power remaineth whole, & theirs is broken, and their townes yelded, without any speach of either edictes or preachings, or administration of Sacraments after their maner. The next day after the Duke of Guises and his partakers departure, the Prince of Cōde went to submit him self in y hands of his brother the

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King of Nauarre and of the Queene mother at Baugency, passing through the midst of the Guisians armie to y great daunger of his own person: The Queene mother being come to Talsy a village hard by, did there sufficiently giue to vnderstand to the Prince of Conde, the Admirall and other Lords whom she had sent for thither, that her self was the Guisians assured instrumēt, wherby to mainteyn & support troubles and partialities in the realme. For she told them flatly, that they must not loke to haue the edict of Ianuarie obserued, neither that in France should be any other religion vsed then the Romish, also that the Catholiks were so strong & therwith so chafed, especially at Paris, that without further tumults the said edict could not be kept: wherfore they ought to be content in being tolerated to liue quietly in their owne houses, without any slaunder or being searched in their consciences, prouided alwayes that they practised no preachings, administratiō of the Sacraments, or other exercises of their religion. The Guisians also remēbring how diuers times before, the said prince of Cōde & his adherents had declared (which lāguage they now also vsed vnto the Queene) that rather then for their partes to agree to the forcing of their cōsciences, or to tolerate any thing contrary to Gods honour, or his worde, they would depart the realme, & incurre perpetual exile, did now expressely aduertise the Queene that at this parly she should reduce thē againe to the same cōmunication, & then take thē at their word, which she both promised and diligently brought to passe. For hauing declared to the Prince & his partakers, that their protestations touching the maintenance of the edicts & religion were not receyueable, she did very liberally yelde to the other point, namely that their best was to withdrawe them selues out of France, promising to procure vnto thē as well generally as particularly, al such letters of assurance as thē selues would deuise: then accōpting her self assured of their departure, she began to discourse with thē vpo the time whē the king should come out of his nonage, shewing them y there were
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some who threatned to cōtinue it vnto the twentieth yere of his age, notwithstanding she were determined at the fourth yere to proclayme his maioritie: alleadging that she assured her selfe that in case any man sought therein to contrary her, the said Prince & the rest would not faile, but come to her ayde and assistance. Yet was she not content so accursedly to mainteine both the Guisians & her owne ambition, but that she must needes the same night after she came from Talsye, dispatch Ramboillet, to the ende in the morning to be at the said Princes vprising, to haste the departure of him & his, & to bring her worde of the assured houre & time of their said departure out of the Realm, writing vnto the said prince, that she would send him ten thousand crownes to what part soeuer he wēt, therein manifestly declaring her self the instrumēt of the said Guisians wherewith to banish him: so that hereby euery man may perceiue what way poore France was like to goe through such accursed gouernement.

The Prince hereupon returned with such lords as accompanied him into his owne cāpe, hauing first reueiled to the Queene mother certain of the Guisians practises, whereby they endeouored to haue apprehended him in his returne from the said parlye, which he had discovered. But all this notwithstanding, they were so wide from quaying his constancie, that contrariwise being fully resolved to mainteine the liberty and lawes of his countrie, and to doe his duety vnto God & the Church against the enemies, he twise offered them battayle. But the Duke of Guise and his friends (who so greatly before trusted in their power, knowledge and experience, as to presume to say, euen before the Kings face, that with three hūdred men of armes they would not fayle, but so beate the Huguenots, that for their safety they should haue enough to doe, quickly to get into the corners of the Realme) then with all the power that they could get in seuen or eight dayes, together with such forces as they gathered vnder the Kings name and auctoritie, could not now otherwise shifte, but by stealing away and in the night

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departing vnto Bloys, a towne of no strength, where they found the poore inhabitants vtterly disarmed, of whom some they murdered, & some they drowned, violating women and maydens, and committing wonderfull hauocke: and thence, hauing that passage open, they went and sacked sundry other townes, and foraged a great parte of the Realme. The Cardinal also together with the Popes Legat followed the army to the armye, whereby to preuent all meanes of agreement, & to mainteine the troubles, whereof we neede no more assured prooffe then of a certeine remembrance which at the same time was met withall, which the said Cardinal sent to his brother the Duke of Guise and his companions, to the campe at Bloys by Seure the controulour of his said brothers houshoold. This remembrance among other did containe these wordes. As for breaking of or hindering whatsoever is newly propounded touching agreement, it is that that is the hardest, and containeth most labour: and neuer beleue that any man taketh any heede thereto, or hearken vnto them, either that they shal come to any point, vnlesse they submit them selues to such offers, as the Queene saith she hath made vnto them. Afterward he addeth saying, As for continuing about the Queene, that is done: & all diligence is employed according to the instructions, without omitting any houre or occasions, and so shal be continued. Concerning the Pope, those be so long delayes that we can come to no ende, neither is there any defaulte of calling vpon, yea euen of angring outright. Touching the succours of Flanders, we perceiue nothing redy without long attent, & yesterday the Embassadour was spoken vnto, who, saith he, hath done his endeuour in writing to the Lady of Parma. For Meaux, we haue not power sufficient to doe any thing, and therefore we seeke to get them to yelde. In any wise forget not Mans and Bourges, & see that after your departure from where ye are, you be not new to beginne. The declaration of rebellion was yesterdaye red in the council, and well liked of all men. The Kings men penned it, and it should
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this day haue bene published: But they say they haue promised to doe nothing without you, and therefore doe send it to you to adde or diminish. Time wasteth, send it therefore backe againe speedily.

This declaration of rebellion had the Cardinal practised, thereby to breake the Prince of Condes power, and so with more ease to attaine to his purposes. The arrest thereof was published in the Parliament of Paris, the 27 day of Iuly 1562. But the Prince and his partakers did first refuse the Guisians slaues, who prepared them selues to make this declaration, and then vttereth the vniustice of the same, whereby the Cardinal gotte not much that way, sauing that he detected his owne practises and rebellions, as the said Prince and his confederates published in their declaration to the Queene, wherein were these notable wordes among other. Considering with a single eye the parties in this cause, ye shall finde that the said lorde Prince and his confederates, haue bene wrongfully declared rebelles by those who are so in deede. The procurers of all the troubles happened in this Realme, since the death of the late King Henry, are the declarers of the said Prince and his fauours to be seditious. They who doe oppresse the Kings maiestie, abolish his decrees, and abuse his name and auctority, to the ende with his ouerthrowe to establish their owne mightinesse, are the same who haue declared vs guilty of treason. Those those are guilty of treason against God, whose workes haue alweys shewed that ambition is their God, couetousnes their religion, and worldly pleasures their paradise and last felicitie: who haue sworne warre against the Sonne of God, his worde, and the defenders of the same: who shew the deedes of Anabaptistes, in rebaptising children baptised according to the ordinaunce of I E S V S C H R I S T: whose houses are replenished with theste, and their handes bloody in all crueltye. Those men also are guilty of humane treason, who haue violated the Kinges edictes,

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armed themselves contrary to his commaundement, and seased vpon his royall person: who are inwarde friendes, and to the same ende doe vse the helpe of those, who in seeking to steale away the second person of the Realme, endeouored to oppresse the King, & to bring his estate into ruine & confusion. And seing we must needes proceed, I say that those men are guilty of treason, who lately made a conspiracy in Prouence through the ayde of Lauris a president in the Parliament of Aix, together with Fabritius Cerbelone the Popes gouernour of Auignon, tēding to the raising of fiftenth thousand men, who as they sware, marched at the commādemēt of the Duke of Guise, of whom the said Fabritius furnished a thousand footemen, and two hundred horse: which conspiracy being detected, and in the court of Parliament of Prouence, verified: Entrages and Laydet the two chiefe captaines of this faction were beheaded by sentence of the said courte. If this be not sufficient, I wil say yet more, namely that the Guisians made the like match in Dauphine by meanes of capitaine Mantil: hoping to arme the said two prouinces, & then to cause them together to march where they thought best. So that these conspiracies made for the abolishing of the preaching of the Gospel, these leauyings of men, and this othe, to marche at the Duke of Guises commandement, doe crye out that he and his confederates are rebels, seditious persons, and guilty of treason against both God & man: Also that contrariwise, those are the Kings true and faithfull seruantes, who both haue and still doe valiantly withstand their rebellions, seditions, and attempts against the Kings maiesty, and the estate of this Realme. Also hereof aboue all that is yet spoken, the ouerthrowe of the policy, and subuersion of the iustice of this Realme, together with the peruerting of the court of Parliament of Paris, may be a sufficient testimonye: The ayde of which court they haue vsed in this false and pernicious iudgement of rebellion, because they could not light vpon any other cōpany so corrupted & depraued, either so much bound to their willes

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willes and appetites as is the same : for so many as now be members thereof, either do keepe their rowmes through the said Guisians and their adherents fauour, or els do liue in hope hereafter through their helpe to clime higher: yea most of them are by name comprehended in the said conspiracie and league, which the said Guisians and their adherents haue made.

Thus you see what was then published against the Guisians: But vnto this policie of causing the Prince of Con-
The Cardinals policie for the maintaining of his Tyranny
 dies adherents to be proclaimed rebels, the Cardinal yet added other sleights. First he got the King and the Queen mother to be brought into his brothers campe by the King of Nauarre, whom he sent to fetch them: & so caused both the Child and mother to march as it were in triumph, the better to cloke the end of this warre. Secondly he wonne to their parte al strangers, euē the Protestant Germans, whome hee caused to enter into the Realme, and in the meane season scoffed at the said Protestants religion: because, said they, that with money they brought them to roote out the gospel in France, which them selues had plāted in Germany, which also they stil professed. yea the better to scorne the said Germanes, the Guisians gaue them to vnderstande, that of long time they had bene minded to establish the confession of Ausbourg in France, (which the Cardinal had openly detested in the assembly of Poissy, notwithstanding that afterwarde at Sauerne he protested that he did allow of the same) & already had so done, in case they had not bene letted by the Prince of Condyé & his adherents, whom they charged to be rebels, to seke to vsurpe the crowne, to be Anabaptistes, Atheistes, and men deuoyd of al faith and religion.

Al this time in France there was no news but of répests
The Cardinal goeth the Count
 and horrible confusions throughout al the Coütry, as more largely is, and shal be discoursed vpon in certaine treatises
 tending to the same end: but the Cardinal endeouoring to assure his matters as wel as he might, determined to leaue his brethren at worke in France, whiles him selfe

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went to practise with the Pope, the Spanierd and others assembled vnto the Council of Trent, and all vnder colour of religion, which he did openly scoffe at: for at Gyen and Bloys among other the articles whereunto he caused the King & his council to subscribe, to the end they might (said he) passe in the Council, though in effect to bring the Pope and his adherentes to that whereat he shot, were these five, wherein his practises may plainly be perceiued. First that the Canon of the Masse might be cut of, and the rest corrected according to the forme of al auncient liturgies, & brought into Frenche. Secondly, that the Psalmes might be soug in Churches after the maner of that Frêch translation which the doctors of Sorbone had corrected, who in deede are as rude Poets, although they loue their drinke well, as euill diuines. Thirdly, that indifferently al men might participate in the Lordes Supper vnder both kinds. Fourthly, that al flat paintings tending to the storie only, should be permitted in Churches, & al Images taken away: or at the least wise the people shuld be exhorted not to worship any of the either simplie or by relation. Fifthly, and finally, that all curates and priors shoulde either by them selues or by others interpret the epistle and gospel for the day vnto the people. Thus did this troublesome member handle France: who was against al men and al men against him, yea euen in Rome the Cardinal Vitelly did sharply rebuke him, calling him a busie fellowe and molester of al things, who only by his dristes cut out more worke in a day, then the whole consistory of Cardinals could sowe in a yere. The better to frame his ginnes, he got forth with him nine bishops, foure Abbots, and certaine Sorbonistes, and arriued at Trent in Nouember 1562. wherevpon the twentye thirde daye of the same moneth he made an oration conteining some matters worth the noting.

First he confessed that Gods wrath ouer France proceeded of the corruption of maners in al estates, and the vter despising of all Church discipline. About the middest spea.

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deft speaking of the King of Frances request, this good orator said, He requireth vs, so much as we may, to auoid al new quarels, to omit al new and vnfruitful questions, to our power to procure all Princes & countreyes to absteyne from warres, that we eschue al desire of mouing debate, for doubt least such as haue strayed from vs should accompt this council to be holden, rather to the end to stirre vp princes to take weapon, also to make complots & alliances of warres, notwithstanding it were holy, then to prouide for the vniuersal reconciliation of mindes. Afterward he maketh mention of the reformation of the church, and doth conclude with his own submission to the Romish Church. Now let the reader consider the purpose of this speach. And from that time forward he stil practised against the estate of the realme, from whence he dayly receiued letters, neither was there any thing in France done without him, as hereafter we shal perceiue. But being now in hand with the council, we wil also touch some leagues. Immediately after he heard of the death of his brother the Duke of Guise, vpon whose auctority his whole hope was grounded, he sodenly thought neuer to returne into France, but with his vsual inconstancie turned his minde towarde the affaires of Italie, gratifying so farre forth as he could, the Pope and al forreyn princes, especially the Catholike King of Spaine.

Before the newes of this death, he had with the Spanish Bishops stood stily in defence of residences vpon benefices against the Popes dispensations, alleaging them to proceede of the Lawe of God; but then he sone changed his copie, mainteining with his adherents that they belonged to the positieue Lawe, and so through the pluralitie of voyces bare it away, in so much that the Archbishop of Granado cryed out, that the Cardinal of Lorraine had betrayed them. Also when the Countie de Luna the Kinge of Spaines embassador slacked his coming to y^e Council, because he disdained to sit vnder y^e Frésh embassador, y^e Cardinal procured him to come, & to the end to curry fauour wth the

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the King of Spaine, caused his ambassadour to inioye the more honorable place, thereby causing the King of France to lose the preeminence, which neuer before was called into question.

*The siege of
Bourges &
Rouen.* Now let vs marke whether his brethren, whom he had left in France, were anie truer seruants to the crowne. The Duke of Guise kept the King and Queene mother in his hands, making them to trot vp and downe, also to be present in the taking of townes, and so hiding him selfe vnder their authoritie stroke his blowes. For the King of Nauarre he did strangely scorne and floute. Wel, in August he besieged Bourges, and in September they yelded, then did he cause the King and Queene to enter, and vsed marueilous threats and outragious wordes against them that were yeelded. Al the Protestants in those quarters did he worse entreat then either Turkes or Iewes. The Duke of Aumale, and Marquise d'Ellebeuse lay in Normandie, the one before Rouen, and the other before Caen, and yet notwithstanding they wanted neither greace nor growing, yet could they not greatly profit that way. The Lord of Moruilliers was at Rouen, and in S. Katherines fort was so good a garnison, that the Duke of Aumale al sommer time, did nought but lose men and munitions. Yea, the parties besieged, the more to laugh at him, erected certaine rampiers and bulworkes, against the which he wastfully spent his poulder and pellets, as if he woulde haue scared sparrowes. To be brieft, euerie man was a master in his campe, insomuch as when a certaine boye was gotten out of Rouen to beholde, and espie the demeanours of him & his, seeing euerie royster intrude him selfe to counsel him and to commande in his presence, at his returne said, that there were verie manie captaines, but fewe souldiers: wherefore, said he, you are in no danger except when the Lord of Aumale sleepeth. In the meane time the Duke of Guise called in al strangers, as Italians, Spanierds and other, the more to trouble al things: But hearing that the Queene of England prepared to aide the Protestants, and
knowing

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knowing her landing to be in Normandie, he led thither his armie, drawing with him the King and Queene mother together with the King of Nauarre, who at the siege of Rouen receiued a wound whereof he shortly after died, being therein rewarded for ioyning with the enemies both of the crowne and of his familie. Rouen was taken, and al extremitie therein exercised. That done, the Duke of Guise returned to Paris in great perplexitie, for that the Prince hauing receiued succour out of Germanie, was coming to seeke him. Howbeit in the meane time he receiued new supplies of Gascoynes and Spanierds, and therewith intended to keepe the Englishmen from ioyning with the Prince.

Hereof followed the battayle of Dreux fought in December, the effect whereof al men do knowe. But as the Duke of Guises refusing to giue the onset when the Constable sent him word, which caused the said Constables taking, procured men to iudge that willingly he sought this chance, so did others who supposed better to knowe his nature, attribute it to his cowardlines: and thereof did men take their argument, to assure them selues of al that which since that battayle this braue warriour hath compassed. For al men wil confesse that after this battaile of Dreux, al the Protestants power consisted in the band, which the Admiral kept in the fieldes, and not in the citie of Orleans which was impregnable, for the said Admiral remained safe. And therefore it had bene reason that the Duke of Guise had assailed him, who beeing ouercome, Orleans would haue stretched forth her hands: and not in such wise to haue wasted his men, money, munition & forces, about the taking of a towne, which being wonne & razed, should but haue made the Admiral more strong, warie and diligent about new and dangerous enterprises. Thereof did men conclude that the Duke of Guise wanted both wit and courage, in that he neither coulde, ne durst followe the Admiral at his retire out of Normandie, but did suffer him so to fortifie him self with townes, holds, fortresses,

The battaile of Dreux.

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fortresses, men, money and al other munitions. Yea, the most valiant & expert capitaines of France do thinke certainly, that in case y warre had a litle while longer continued, the Admirall had giuen the Duke of Guise an immortal reproch, who at Dreux durst not looke in his face, neither at his comming out of Orleans to go into Normandie, followe at his backe: notwithstanding the said Admiral was but slenderly accompanied at his comming out of the said besieged citie, and yet passed part of France, and euen before the said Duke of Guises face forced certaine townes, as Touque, Caen, Falaize, Argenten, Vire and other places in Normandie, tooke sundrie fortresses and castles, & compelled the Marquise d'Ellebeuse to come vnder the yoke, and yelde to his grace and mercie, notwithstanding the said Marquise might wel enough haue withstood him, as hauing an vnpregnable place, namely the castle of Caen at commandement: But that was not his occupation, he was fitter to handle a bottle and a gambon of bacon. And in deede not long before the Admirals comming to Caen, he sought to flee, and had not Captaine Renouard bene, he had neuer abidden the summons. Of him therefore did not a gentleman of Caux speake much out of the waye, when as after the first troubles, at the same time that the Kings armie feared, that it woulde be long before they could recouer New hauen, he counsayled them to cause the Marquise d'Ellebeuse to enter thereinto: for, said he, there is no forte so strong, so well defended or so impregnable, but that he immediatly wil yelde the same.

In the meane time, the Cardinal hearing of the battaile of Dreux, said, Al is wel seing my brother is escaped. Is there no more talke of calling vs to accompts? and then turning vnto two bishops of his familiars, he said to them smiling, So farre as I perceiue, my brother must take his accompts, him selfe alone: now is it as I desired. The King of Nauarre was dead, The Marshal of S. Andrewes was slaine, the Prince of Conde was prisoner on the one side,

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side, and the Constable on the other: now was it as he desired. Now did he and his brother feare none but the Queene mother, whose inconstancie and subtilties they were to conquere. To the attaining therefore to their purpose, they thought it necessarie to gette Orleans, thereby to intrappe the Lord d'Andelot, whome they did both doubt and hate, also to recouer the Constable, whereby he might be wholly at their mercie, if peradventure they had not caused him to be made away in the heate of his taking. They were in possession of the Prince of Conde, who should not verie cheape depart out of their hands: and although they sawe the Admiral on foote, yet hoped they in time to mate him. They made therefore at one flight fortie Knights of the order, and deuided the companies of men of armes vnto men of their own retinue. And the Duke of Guise not long before his hurt, sufficiently discovered him selfe: for when one of his familiars moued him to followe the Admiral, he answered, That perchance wil not be the most commoditie to manie, in case they shoulde so soone be ouercome: the cardes are not thoroughly shuffled, I haue a worse beast to ouercome then al the Huguenots together, speaking of the Queene, of whome manie times priuately he complained, saying, that she was verie vnthankeful to him ward, also that closely she woue some webbe with the Prince of Conde: But, said he, if God wil, who knoweth the wrong done to our house, (speaking of the Countiees of Prouence and Anjou, and of the crowne also) I wil come to an end with them al, and whatsoeuer it cost, seeing my share is therein, I wil haue iustice before the game be at an end. The wickednesse of his desire was yet more plainly perceiued by an other word which he spake, at his making of 5 last Knights of the order (among whom his sonne Henrie yet more meete to play with nutshales, then to handle a sword, was one of the first) when it was obiected what a reproch it would be to so manie worthie men and noble Lordes as were alreadie of the same, in case he should put in some of those whome
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he had named : you, said he, do not know my meaning. There be some said he (speaking of the Queene) who seke to liue in confusion, and therefore we must put in so many, that the disorder may bring good order. This may you see was his care ouer the estate of the realm: but we may here- in perceiue how he defaced himself. In the battel of Dreux the Constable was taken fighting valiantly: the Marshal of S. Andrewes was slaine in the same place: The Duke of Guise coulde not auoyde without shame and dishonour, after hee had refused to set vpon the Huguenots when his captaine commaunded him, and had abandoned his generall in the middèst of the field. In this battell did he no honorable deede, but lost the honour of the Prince of Condies taking, who lighted in the Lord of Danuils hãds: But to his great confusion, he had before him the Admiral onely, of whom he had spoken so much shame, and there- fore before al men susteined this reproch, that with al his power he durst not assaile him whome before he had so much despised, and who by his saying was destitute of all vertue, valiantnesse and grace in commanding. The thing which most spired the Duke of Guise, was in that he per- ceiued himselfe bridled by the yelding of New hauen to the Englishmen, which vnto them was graunted vpon sun- dry not very vnequal conditions, considering the time: & this caused the Cardinal and the rest of his brethren to bite their nailes, seeing newe worke now cut out for them in an other place. Now they did in maner accompt assured ly, that this matter was neuer done without some practise of the Queene mother, with the Prince of Condie & the Admiral, and therefore did through the meanes of certain their secret seruants, counsel the King of Spaine to aske the custodie of some townes to the King of Frances behoofe, putting the Spaniard in hope that they would procure his request to be granted, if he had bene as vniust and foolish as to haue demaunded the same. The Duke of Guises fret- ting also a litle before his wounding at Orleans, which himselfe disclosed to a certaine familiar friend is not alto-
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gether vnknown: for he said that he repented himself, in that he deliuered not two townes to the Spanierdes in steade of one which the Englishmen possessed: for that, said he, had bene the way to bridle the inconstancie wher with he charged the Queene, and the enuie and ielouzy, which, said he, she bare to his greatnes, besides the means y this might haue bene to do some thing for his own familie, which openly he would not discover: and yet could he not so closely keepe his game, but that in saying that he had by this meanes a share in the lumpe as the rest, a man might discerne (together with other wordes which he spake) whether he were minded to giue the realm in pray, and so haue a portion therein.

These discontentations did partly procure the Admiral to passe safe into Normandie, and there anew to fortifie himselfe, whiles the Duke of Guise layed siege to Orleans, minding after the execution of that matter, to prepare himselfe vnto more haughtye enterprises: and vsing no talke, but such as tended to threats against the estate and quiet of the Realme. But in the midst of al his deuises, Poltrot shotte a dagge at him, whereby he lanquished certayne dayes in terrible tormentes, not without wonderfull grieve, for that he perceiued him selfe cutte of in the midst of his course. Sometimes he would thrust his finger into the wounde, as if he were extremely chafed against the surgeons and Physitions, who could not prolonge Francis the second his life, also as if he could not giue them one good looke, because he sawe himselfe ensnared. Finally after he had forgiuen his wife, and lefte his children to the Cardinals tuition, not without straight charge to reuendge his death, and bring his driftes to their perfection which so often had bene frustrated, he was (as ye would say) by death tyed to the suburbes and gate of Orleans. This was the end of the fiercest of all the Guisians, who fretted (said manye) in that he shoulde die in the towne where a King had dyed, either that nowe aliue he shoulde come into the Citie which he and his

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partakers had destined for the death of a Prince of the blood, and many good officers of the crowne. The Catholikes especially of Paris (who neuertheless had smal cause as afterward appeared) did greatly bewayl his death. When the King of Nauarre was slaine at Rouen, the Duke of Neuers, and the Marshal of S. Andrews at Dreux, and diuers others in other places, there was no token of sorrow. But for the Duke of Guise, who had abandoned his captain, who fought because he would not be accomprable to the estates of France, who had violated the Kings edictes, and sought to suppress the house of Valois, did they make hearse, and vsed al other funeral solemnities as if he had bene a King. Now therefore like as after the decease of Francis the second, al the whole courte which enuironed the Guisians vanished away, and al their multitudes at the same instant conuerted into solitarinesse, yea that manye who before had followed them, were now ready not only to hold y basen to whosoeuer would cut their throats, but eue theselues to paunch the: so after y death of their eldest brother, they remained as a body without members, being forsaken of most men, and through the vnreasonable authority which they had vsurped, become odious vnto such as to them were most vpright. The Cardinal now being at Trente, sought new meanes how to begin at an other end: and first dealt with the Spaniard, as himselfe did since disclose to one of the chiefe counselors of a certaine noble french Lorde: for hauing declaimed against, and reproued the estate of matters of France, he toulde him that the Spaynishe gouernement was excellent and goode, where the Great Lords of the country doe so bridle their King, that they permit him scarcely to sport him self: handling him after the maner of counters, of which a man maketh that which sometime is worth but one, sometime worth renne, sometimes worth a hundred, sometimes worth ten thousand, and immediatly reducing it againe to nothing at his pleasure: neither were it (said he) a very harde matter to reduce France to the same point. In the meane
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time he counterfai'ted the mourner, writing such consolatory letters vnto his mother, as a man would hardly reade without laughig, especially where he writeth these words, Madame, I say vnto you, that God neuer so greatly honoured any mother, neither at any time did so much for any his creature, (excepting alwayes his owne glorious mother) then he hath done for you. But this good childe of the most blessed mother in the world, next to the virgine Marie, inuented other new practises against the estate of his King and country, as we now shal perceiue.

The Duke of Guise his mouthe beyng stopped, peace presently ensued, but in such maner as did easelie shewe that such remembraunces, as the Cardinal leste at his goynge to the Councille, were of greate force. For the edicte made in the moneth of Ianuarye was in maner extinguished, the Prince of Condye displaced from the rowme which to him apperteined, as to the first Prince of the blood, the Admiral and other great Lordes expulsed the Courte, but principally the sayde Admirall, who was charged with procuring the shotte at the Duke of Guise, which neuerthelesse was but a policie which the Cardinal and his fauours practised, to the ende still to keepe the water troubled, and them selues out of accomptes: in whiche pointe, the Queene mother somewhat fauoured the Guisians, in that she was glad to put from her sonne al honourable persons, to the ende to bring him vp and frame him according to her own humors, the effects wherof haue since manifestly appeared.

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Many things chanced in France betwene the first and second troubles, wherein the Guisians sleighes diuersly appeared, to the destruction of the realme; wherof we wil touch some the most notable particularities, not staying ouermuch vpon the circumstance of Dayes: in that that entreating of their iniuries offred to the Princes of the blood, to the nobilitie, to the estates and to other priuate parties in the Realme, we may beholde such matters as now we wil passe ouer.

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First, the Cardinal laboured the Queene mother to grant the estate of great master, vnto his nephue Henrie sonne to the late Duke of Guise. So that notwithstanding this childe was not capable thereof, yet to the great dishonour of the King and the Realme, and in despite of the Constable and the Protestants, whome the Queene began to hate, he was chosen great Master, standing in deede in greater neede of a Scholemaster and rodde.

After the King of Nauarre was dead, the Queen mother became a Catholike, for she doubted lest the Prince of Conde, then first Prince of the blood would holde his estate, & (knowing her humours, through the assistance of the Chastillons, & the Costable himself, whose heate began now to coole) reduce her to order, & take the gouernemēt from her. The Cardinal foreseeing also, that if this were brought to passe, both he and al his should be plucked away, determined to take some order. At the assemblie at Orleans, the estates with one common consent had made great complaints of the vnreasonable giftes, which both King Henrie and King Francis the second had giuen to sundrie persons, of whome some were vnworthie, others had had too much, seeking to cal to accounts those who had the charge and gouernement of the treasure. The first part of these complaints, touching the vnworthinesse of persons, concerned especially and from the bottome of their hearts, the Duchesse of Valentinois, and al her abomination. The second of excesse did pinche to the quicke the Guisians, the Marshal of S. Andrewes, and some others. An other point of this complaint tended wholly against the Guisians, as hauing relation only to the time of Francis the second, whom they had ordered at their pleasures, in whose time much money was spent and consumed. On the other side, the reformation of the ecclesiastical estate, wherupon the nobilitie and third estate did earnestly call, killed the Cardinals heart outright. Wherefore to the end to procure this pursuite to vanish away, he and his brethren could inuent no better shift, then by kindeling the ciuil
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warre aforesaide. The same now being pacified, he propoundeth vnto the Queene mother, that to keepe the Prince of Conde from chalenging his degree, and abolishing her gouernement, it were most expedient to proclaime the Kings Maioritie, as also she was minded to haue done before the King of Nauarres deceasse. For the Cardinal knew that so long as the Queene mother was Mistresse, the accomptes should neuer be taken, because that in permitting the estates to searche so narrowly the behaviours of gouernours, it was to be feared least in time they would examine her selfe. As for the reformation of the Clergie, he propoundeth to her how profitable that would be for the aduancement of the Protestants, which necessarily must ensue, for she should rayse against her the Spaniard, the Pope and the Catholikes, and so shoulde lose her credite, and peraduenture her authoritie also. According therefore to this counsaile, shortly after the peace the Kings Maioritie was proclaymed, wherein the Queene mother and the Cardinal made him playe a terrible part, in procuring him to speake as bigge as if he were fourtie yeres olde, when in deede it was they that spake with his lippes.

To this counsaile the Cardinal yet added an other, touching the instruction of the King and of his brethren. For he shewed the Queene, that if she suffred the Princes and Lords of the Religion to come neere her children, either els so timely trained them vp in the affaires, they might be wonne, and in time do her selfe some displeasure, or at the least wise, put her from the gouernement, and then choose other counsaylers, as the Bourbons, Montmorencies and Chastillons. For remedie whereof, he causeth the King to wast his time with a toppe and scourge sticke, at cockefights, at putting dogges together by the eares, or setting them vpon this bodie or that bodie, in hearing of playes, seeing of daunces, talking with harlots: finally in swearing and whorehunting, and al in the Queenes presence and knowledge, through the dealings of diuers of

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the Guisians seruants. Also because the King of him selfe was wilde enough, somewhat to coole these heates, he was sent on hunting whiles a priest and a woman gouerned the Realme.

To keepe the Protestants also stil in breath, & so to stop the King, that with the time he might not so fauour both the parties at once, that finally the Guisians policies should be detested, the Cardinal caught holde of an occasion which the Queene mother had practised a litle before the Edict of pacification. There was a certaine, I wot not what, deposition attributed to Poltrot, wherein he confessed that the Admiral had procured him to slaye the Duke of Guise: and although the Admiral hearing the bruite hereof, which la Pallet seruant to the Guisians had caused to be noysed among the Protestant Reistres, who were come to the Protestantes aide, and therewithall considering the consequence thereof, had by expresse letters intreated the Queene mother to cause the saide Poltrot to bee repriued, to the ende to bee brought face to face, yet had she by sentence of the Parliament of Paris caused him to be drawen asunder with foure horses. Wherein was to be seene the cloking and wonderfull policies of the Queene mother and the Cardinal. But as touching the Queenes practises, they require an other Legende. And in respect of the Cardinal, he was the gladdest man aliue of this aduantage, whereby at his pleasure to bring the Realme againe into troubles, to ridde his handes of his enemies, of Bourbon, of Montmorencie, and of Chastillon: and indeede this iustice which he procured the Duke of Guises widowe and children to prosecute, was a verie proper meanes to helpe him selfe with all: For soone after, he yet proceeded giuing the Queene to vnderstand, that neither her regiment, neither the Kings estate woulde euer be assured so long as the Bourbons, Montmorencies and Chastillons were on horsebacke: that it was meete to humble them, and to set so manie
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men against them, that the King and his assistantes might continue masters. Also that in case she woulde accept of his brethren and nephues, also of such as were affectionate to that race, she shoulde finde them prest with all meanes possible : Againe, that so long as she woulde mislike of the Protestants, most townes in the Realme would bestowe their whole power to the maintenance of her and her authoritie.

Moreouer, because it had bene too much so to disquiet all thinges at once, and a litle to hazarde them selues, rather then to deale with the three houses aforesaide together, hauing consulted with his brethren, the said Cardinal propounded to the Queene mother, that it were best first to dispatch the Chastillons, whereunto the iustice which the Guisians demaunded might serue for a colour, also for that it woulde be harde coming by them by force, it were best in shewing them a good countenance to intrappe them at once. Now notwithstanding the Queene were not ignorant of the vnrighteousnesse of this counsayle, also of such confusions as might insue : yet preferring her owne ambition before the quietnes of her children and Realme, she tooke that waye. For, although she did not greatly loue the Guisians, yet beeing assured that she should the better compasse her matters, also that they were already so deepe in these affaires, that they woulde with her hazarde all meanes for their preservation, and therefore nowe there was no more to doe but to finde oportunitie to bee ridde of the Chastillons. But when they were at the poynte to practise their matters, the Prince of Conde in the Kinges open counsayle tooke the Admirals matter in hande, and plainelye declared that who so euer dealt with the Admirall otherwise then by Lawe and equitie, he the sayde Prince woulde not suffer it. This therefore together with other considerations, procured the counterfayt atonement betweene the Admiral and the Guisians, which was made

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at Moulins as the King was in his journey to Bayonne.

This journey was vnder taken through the aduice of the Queene and the Cardinal, vnder pretence of visiting the realme: but in effect to conferre with the Spaniard, to renewe a league which might reduce the realme into new troubles, as indede it came to passe after this race was runne. And the whiles the Cardinal and his brethren framed other practises as followeth.

The Cardinal at his being at Trent had procured an after session, thereby to publish the King of France to be an heretike, a schismatike, and an excommunicate person, in case he persisted in selling the demaines of the Church, although the same sale was of his owne inuentions, and that he together with his brother had graunted thereto before his departure: for to the obtaining of their greatnes and accomplishing of their purposes, nothing was so holy, but it might be alienated. In the same practise he determined to open and giue in spoyle to the first conquerour, the realme of Nauarre, because of the religion which the Queen and her sonne the Prince did professe. Whereof the King being aduertised, he sent word to the Embassadors and Bishops of his realm speedily to come their waies from the Council, publishing moreouer vehement protestations against the auctours of the said counsel. But herein consisted an other of the Cardinals policies, who secretly allaged that he had inuented these meanes somewhat to gratifie the Pope and the Spaniard, to whom he presented a new praye, and on the other side he writte to the Queene mother, that the King must needes counterfai a discontentation hereat, whereby to allure the Queene of Nauarre, and so to separate her from the Prince and the Chastillons, the readilier to dispatch ech after other. Here vpon he returned into France, and there set his matters in such order as shortlie you shall perceiue, and then made a new voyage vnto Rome, there personally to sollicite this curse against the Queen of Nauarre. And then to the end to cleare him selfe of such mischief, he departed two daies before

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before iudgement should be giuen: from whence being arriued at Venice, he there sharply accused the Pope and consistorie of Rome for transgressing the Kings pleasure, whereby to perswade men that he was not of that conspiracie or faction.

At his returne, for the accomplishment of his promise, he was so impudent as to present the Councilles articles vnto the King, not so much for the establishing of the same at the first dashe, as to the ende by litle and litle to adnichilate the Edict of pacification. And to the ende it might haue the sayrer shewe, at his solliciting the Embassadours of Spayne, Sauoy and the Pope, came to the Court, and presented certayne Articles deuised at the instance of the Cardinall and his adherentes, which here we haue set downe, because they doe reueale the foundation of the rest of the troubles which since haue ensued in France.

The Articles of the Councill which the Cardinall propoide thereby a gayne to trouble the Realme.

In the first point, they called vpon the King to keepe and cause to be kept within his owne Realme, the Countreies, Territories and Lordshippes in his obedience; the articles of the holy council lately holden at Trente, which now they had brought with them to the same ende. And for the reading of the same, and to sweare thereunto before the Delegates of the sayde councill, they assigned the sayd King to be at Nancy in Lorrayne vpon our Ladie day in Marche, there to meete with their sayde Lordes, who togyther with all other Christian Kinges and Princes were determined, to make a generall constitution correspondent to the same which was made at Trente, for the rooting out of all heresies and new doctrines repugnant to the sayd holy councill.

In the second point they requested the sayde Lorde to cease alienating the temporalities of the Church, certifying him on the behalfe of the King of Spayne, and of the Duke of Sauoy, that they neyther doe nor euer dyd meane to be payde their mariage money, which the late King Henrie had promised them out of the church goods:
and

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and therefore that he ought to be content with some voluntarie gifte, which the Ecclesiasticall persons shoulde giue him, hauing regarde vnto such sackes and spoyles, as lately haue bene committed in his Realme, vnder his name and by his Edict: whereof they doe neuerthelesse (according as they haue bene desired) holde him excused through his youth.

In the thirde point, that at the least wise he should banishe (vnlesse he had rather otherwise punishe them) the chiefe seditious persones and schismatikes of his Realme, by whose meanes the aforesayd spoyles of Churches haue bene committed, and who haue brought the enemies of his Crowne into the Realme, and giuen straungers free entrie thereinto.

In the fourth, that he shoulde reuoke the remission and absolution, which in his Edict of pacification he had graunted, especially agaynst such persons as had committed treason agaynst GOD: shewing him that it was neyther in him nor in any other Christian King or Prince, to remitte or forgiue the offence committed agaynst the Diuine Maiestie, for that all such remission appertayneth vnto God onely.

In the fift, that he as King for his parte woulde assiste Iustice, and the same authorize, as his predecessours haue done, because that thereof dependeth the authoritie of all Christian Kinges and Princes: also that in so dooing, he should punishe the trayterous murder committed in the person of the late Duke of Guise, by such as manifestly are knowen: and that in such cases hee ought not to vse any dissimulation, considering what person he was, who so accursedly was murdered. Also that he should procure him selfe to be obeyed as a King, so that Iustice might florish in his Realme: And that the Lordes whose Embassadours they are, doe offer vnto him all ayde and helpe, so soone as he the sayd King shall demaunde the same.

Ever since

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Euer since that the Guisians vsurped this authoritie ouer the Crowne, by making our Kinges theyr slaues, we haue alwayes had two kinde of Councilles, of the Kinges Letters, and of his wordes, the one open, the other secreete. The priuie Councill doe entreate of such matters as they woulde that all the worlde should knowe. The letters patentes and open speeches do serue for confirmations of the same.

But nowe the Guisians haue induced a secret Councill, which also sometymes is deuided into three partes. For the Queene mother hath one, the Guisians an other, and sometyme the King hath the thirde, which doe consist of certayne who doe gouerne him. In these Councils haue all the matters of our tyme bene determined of: from whence these bloody executions haue ensued. The letters of the Seale are ordinarily contrary to the letters patentes, and open speeches vnto those which are whispered in the eare: as it came to passe at the comming of these Embassadoures, for publikely in the viewe of all the worlde, the King aunswered them, that the Edicte of pacification was made for the expelling of the enemies out of his Realme, and for other matters generally: but particularly their demaundes were handled in the secret Councill, in such wyse as the effectes haue since declared. The fixe and twentieth day of Februarie in the yere 1563. the King opened one parte of this declaration vnto the aforesayd Embassadoures: and to the ende the better to colour all matters, the Cardinal and the Queene mother had taught it him by hearte, togyther with the manner howe to pronounce it with his mouth, for at that time he was as well seene in that he spake, as in that that he spake not, for he was yet but a chylde, especially in such matters.

Nowe must we note that one day before, the Cardinall had obteyned of the Queene a licence in the maner of a brief, signed by Secretarie Bourdin, wherein he was permitted

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mitted to beare weapons both by Edictes and letters patentes forbiddē. But if any man aske why he got this brief, rather of the Queene then of the King, seeing that the onely Lawmaker my dispense with the law which him selfe hath made: eyther wherefore he demaunded not letters patentes rather then a simple briefe: I will leaue the iudgement therof to such as be free from all affection. For that which immediatly ensued, doeth sufficiently detect the purposes both of the Cardinall and his adherents.

But to be able here to specifie those purposes, aswell in the outridings which they procured the King to make, vnder pretēce of the iourney to Bayonne, where their holy league was confirmed, & order taken with the Duke of Alba for the ouerrunning of the Protestantes: eyther of certayne other leagues made in sundrie partes of the realme through the driftes of the Guisians, frō the which proceeded the horrible murders, especially in the Counties of Maine, Tourayne & Vandomme. Also in Guyen where the Marshal of Bourdillō, & in other places other officers were to much at the becke of the Queene and the Guisians. Neyther will I here particularly rehearse these murders, whereafter folowed extorsions, and wonderfull iniustices in sundrie cities of the realme: neyther the sleights which the Cardinall vsed to winne the Prince of Conde, vnder pretence of an imaginatiue kingdome & mariage, whereby to weaken the Admirall: Neyther will I speake of the Citadels erected in sundrie places in the Realme, of the razing of townes which the Protestantes held in the first troubles, of the false accusations layde to their charges, of the declaration or Edict of Roussillon, which manifestly abolished the Edict of pacification, of the scorning of the declarations which the Prince of Conde made against the same edict, together with the flouting of those who sought for quietnesse and iustice. Of the murders at Tours and at the castle of Loyre, of the presumptiō of Chaigny, who was slaue to the Queene and the Guisians, of the banishment

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ment of certaine Protestantes in the towne of Rochelle. I will not here make any larger mention of the forbidding of the Protestants to keepe any scholes, which was done at the Cardinals pursuite, who therin did imitate the Edict of Iulian the Apostate against the Christians: either of the said Cardinals endeouour to destroy the soules together with the bodies, in that he procured that the ministers should not visite the sicke, or abide in any other place then where the exercises of the Religion should for the Bailiwicks be houlden.

On the one side the Cardinal of Guise practised with the bishop of Mans, whereof ensued infinite mischiefes. On an other side the Duke of Aumale was in Champagne, where he did litle better. He tooke from them of Troye the exercise of their Religion, which by the Kings declaration was permitted in their suburbs, and assigned them an other very discommodious village. He by his owne aucthority changed the place of the Bailiwick of Chaumont vnto Bassigny, against the Kings expresse decree. And to the declaration which the Lieutenant of the Bailiwick (a manifest enemy to the Gospel) concerning the commandment which he had to accommodate the Protestantes in case the gouernour should refuse: he answered that he had contrary Edicts from the King in his sleeue, and therefore forbad the said lieutenant from proceeding any further. He imprisoned an Aduocate at Troye, because he had presented to the King a poore widowes supplication, whose armes and legges they had after the peace cut of. He caused to pill and sacke the receauer of Mascons house. He in all maner of wise fauored the seditious and open murderers of Creuant. On an other side the Cardinal of Lorraine was in armes, accompanied with certaine knightes of the Order, and the rebels of Paris and other places, who seing the Protestantes on all sides ouerrunne, sought nothing but some mighty man to set them to the like worke, considering also that the King was farre of, in whose absence they were very desirous to be doying, and to make a terrible
broyle.

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broyle. But the Marshal of Montmorency foreseeing the same, and vnderstanding that not only at Paris, but also in most rownes of the Realme; the seditious persons lay in waite and watched for the Cardinals comming, certified the King of whatsoeuer he vnderstood, whereupon he receiued a precept, that he should not permit the Cardinal or any of the Guisians to enter in warlike araye into Paris. Again after that the Marshall was aduertised of the brief, which the Cardinal had obtained of the Queene mother, he diuers times aduertised the King, especially at Chaalons, Bar, Mascon and Lions, that if the Cardinal and his garde came armed to Paris, he would indeuour to vnarme him. Also siue or fixe moneths before the rumour was spred in Paris of the Cardinals comming garded with harquebuziers, the said Marshal made the like declaration both openly and particularly vnto the Cardinals especiall seruantes. And to the ende no man might pretende any cause of ignorance, the thirteenth of December 1564, he made proclamation with sound of trumpet, and then printed, that vpon payne of death no souldiers ordeined for the garde of any gouernours or gouernement, should enter within his precinct: declaring in expresse wordes to the ende the Cardinal might vnderstand that this defence touched himself, that it was not lawfull for any lorde whatsoever, vnlesse he were a Prince of the house of France to enter into the gouernement of the yle of France with any garde. All this notwithstanding, the Cardinal tooke his way to Paris: and departing from Reims, noysed that he went vnto Ginuille. And although he were tender, yet did he in the sharpest of winter take the fields, making exceeding journeys, and such as him selfe was neuer wonte to doe in any time whatsoever, or vpon any kinde of occasion. After his comming to S. Dionice, there were many goings to and fro. In the meane time the Marshal went to the Parliament house, where he knew the Cardinal had alwayes endeuored to procure most benefactours and friendes, there to complayne of the said Cardinal, in that he came

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to throwe himselfe headlong, and as the prouerbe is, to burne in the flame. Moreouer he sent a Prouost to keepe the way, who endeouored to apprehende the formost of the Cardinals garde and harquebuziers that he met, who notwithstanding all these warninges, vnderstanding that his brother d'Aumale, who before with his troupes had kept the fieldes, should now enter into Paris at one gate, came thither also with his men toward eueing, the streetes being replenished with people attending his comming. But the Marshall of Montmorency accompanied with certaine lordes and gentlemen of name, came in his way, and so sone as he perceiued the weapons of those who accompanied the said Cardinal, called alowde to them to lay the same away: whereupon some fledde, and a few strokes were giuen, wherewith one of the said Marshall of Montmorencyes gentlemen was slaine: And the Cardinal and his nephue the Duke of Guise were worse ascard then hurte, so that sodeinly alighting they saued them selues in a house at hande, where it was said that the Cardinal was in such plight, that his hosen serued him in stead of a basen, and his doublet for a close stoole: hereupon the said Cardinal more coward then a hare, seeing himselfe thus disappointed, together with his companie departed without any sound of trumpet.

*The Card
nalles entr
into Paris*

The voyce went the same time, (and the Admiral whome the Marshall of Montmorency had sent for, to the ende to assiste him both with counsayle and helpe, affirmed the same to the chiefe of Paris) that there was a letter which came from the Guisians, sent into Normandy, conteining these wordes. The readiest way to restore in France those to whom the Crowne doth appertayne by right, & to expulse the house of Valois, is to sacke the Huguenots who doe support the same, and therefore we must sel their woods to gather therewith money & weapons: & in the ende was added, that the said Huguenots that would goe to law, neede not care for taxing their charges. It was not vnknownen also that in sundry places the Catho-
lickes

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lickes made collections of money, to what end let all men iudge. While the Admiral was at Paris, the Duke d'Aumale being hūgrye, & seking to catch some odde Crowne, withdrew him selfe to Annet with his mother in lawe, whither he brought the garde which was allowed him for the gouernement of Bourgundie, and there quaked for feare lest the Marshall of Montmorency, because it was in his gouernement, and besides for that his said garde did many extorsions vnto their neighbours, would send to apprehende him. Wherefore he writ euery way to his friendes, desiring them to come and succour him, and to helpe him to get away, so that he might goe to his charge. At this summons some came, others made no great accompt: & of those that came, there taryed not twenty; by reason of a certaine declaration, wherewith a gentleman of Normandy reduced them all to their right wits. For how would you (said he to the Duke of Aumale) that we should take weapon against a Marshall of France, who with his only worde, is able to take the same from vs, and catch vs in his danger? Yea if he should commaund vs to turne against you, what should we doe, vnlesse we would be rebels and disobedient to our King? Againe, the aunswer of a gentleman of Maine who could not come at his summons, which was intercepted, is worthy the noting, in respect of the French freedome of speche vnto such as know not them selues, wherein is to be seene what iudgement we are to giue of true Princes.

*letter to
Duke
Aumale.*

The wordes of this letter in this point were these. I said not, my lorde, that you were no Prince, either that I am not your seruant: But peraduenture I affirmed that I knew no french man that did acknowledge you for a Prince of the blood, or of the crowne, wherein I doe not think that I did amisse, but rather should haue offended in aduowing the same: yea I neuer heard or knew that either you or any of yours did pretend thereunto. As for seruice, in as much as your messenger said that you accompted me vnthankfull, I tolde him in deede, that I was subiect to none but to
the

the King, neither ought any obedience but to him and his officers, euery man in his vocation. Thus much wil I now adde, that I neuer was seruant to other then the Princes of the blood, neither did owe any duety to other man liuing, except of free heart, and that so long as I listed, neither doe I belecue (my lord) that you doe otherwise thinke of me. For you know that I haue spent twelue thousand franckes of my owne goods, in following the late Lorde your father, my lorde your brother and your selues, and yet neuer tooke wages of any of you all, or receaued benefite or aduantage at any of your handes: I am, I thanke God, a gentleman, and yet neuer did deede straying therefro, and bouldly I may say without wrong to any, that I am to none but to the King, his Princes, my friendes and my selfe: for at this day I haue no other master that nourisheth me, or payeth my wages then my selfe: Not that I meane vterly to renounce doying you seruice, or that of courtisie I be not your seruant, so long as you take it of a free heart, without any kinde of bonde that I owe vnto you. For it is not vnknown vnto you, that there be manye who (vnder the like auctority as your selfe) would pretend as much interest in me, which to dye for it, no man shal forcibly compel me to aduowe: for so should I doe iniury vnto those to whom all seruice is dewe, and vnto all french Nobilitie, who iustly might reproche it vnto me. This was the speache of a true French gentleman, which all such as doe beare this title haue not marked according as they ought.

The Duke d'Aumale being escaped thence as well as he might, went into Champagne, where he deuised new practises wherewith to keepe the water thicke, and the five and twentieth of February 1565, which was six weekes after the Cardinals entry into Paris, he writ a letter to his brother the Marquise d'Ellebeuse, therein detecting the Guisians affections, and their desire neuer to suffer France to be in quiet. In this letter hauing touched all that had passed at Paris, and scorned the King and Queen,

L. j.

saying

*The Duke
d'Aumale
letter of
spiracie.*

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saying that it was their custome to giue out the fayrest speaches and promises in the worlde, he addeth this: In the meane time, brother, whiles you continue there, namely in Touraine, I think you were best to visite the lorde of Montpensier, to whom I wil write a letter bearing credite, according to your request. And it were your wisest, with him and other Lordes our friendes thereabout to practise some good associatiō, which should haue bene long agoe compassed, if euery man had done his endeuour. I know some who were the motioners, and yet when it came to effect, they bledde at the nose, as also in many other things: for if euery man would for his owne parte take paynes, we should soone come to some good ende, considering what good occasions are now offered vs. But they whom it toucheth as neere as me, doe not account of it as I could wishe they did. I would be very loth the fault should be in me: at the least, if God lend me life, I wil let them vnderstande the contrarie: and sorye would I be, to lose that reputation whereunto I haue so long aspired, as I hope I shall not. I haue already often written to the lordes of Montpensier, Estampes, Martigues and Chaigny, so that they might plainly perceiue how fayne I would be reuenged, and how desirous I am of the association that you speake of: and sufficiently doe foresee how necessarye it were not for vs only, but for all honest men, whome nowe they are more bent against then euer: and therefore, brother, I would thinke it excellent well, if the said Lordes would hearken thereunto, and leaue the walled townes, because there is no certaintye in the people (This he speakes by the people of Paris, who when they saw how the Marshal of Montmorency had assayed, and in maner vnarmed the Cardinal, did seeme to mislike of his enterprise) as lately I did perceiue. But with the Nobilitie I am fully resoluēd and ready preste to deale, and for my parte wil spare no cost, thinking that the soner would be the better, which maketh me desire you well to see vnto it, and diligently

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gently thereof to consider, together with the said Lorde of Montpensier, and to send me worde of your determinations, to the end that according to the same I may take order with such of the Lordes and noble men as remaine hereabout, and dwell within my gouvernement, who wil doe whatsoeuer I shal request.

Now must I not forget to certifie you, that writing this letter, I had the sight of the cotype of another letter, which the lorde of Montpensier wrote to the Marshal of Montmorency, as an aunswere to that which the said Marshal had written to him concerning his goodly deede. I pray you thanke him in our behalves, but chiefly in mine, notwithstanding I doe it in the letter which I doe write vnto him: we all are greatly behoulding to him. Moreouer if you see the Bishop of Mans, it were not amisse to moue him also in the same association, for both he and his friendes would be gladde to hearken thereunto, and we haue already conferred thereof. You might doe well also to write vnto the Lorde of Martigues, or if you can see him, it were better to commune thereof together. I know his good will toward vs is nothing diminished, and likewise he may be sure of ours, as you may better giue him to vnderstande, and I wil seale vnto whatsoeuer you and the said lordes shall agree vpon. I send this messenger, purposedly to the ende that by him I may the better be certified of your newes. He may tary with you so long as you think good, and then come to me into Champagne. Written the foure and twentieth of February 1565.

Seuen moneths before, the said Guisians had practised an other league in Guyéne, through the meanes of the lorde of Candales, the Marquise of Trans and others, whereof the Queene mother being aduertised, she sent them word to passe on no further therein: which, notwithstanding afterward when they perceyued them selues strengthened through the aduow of the principal in the Realme, they sought to bring to effect.

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On the other side the Marquise d'Ellebeuse, through the soliciting of the Duke of Aumale, did practise his league in his gouvernement of Touraine, gathering together from all partes all the thieues and common murderers of the countrie, who vnder his protection dayly committed infinite robberies and slaughters, so that neither any honest man might escape without trauaile, nor quietnesse rest without troubles.

*e Cardi-
les pra-
ses.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine also for his parte practised sundry matters about the same time, and endeuored to bring the Baronages of the Bishopricke of Metz vnder the Emperours protection, if the lorde of Salcede the Kings lieutenant at Marsault, had not through force stopped the publication of the said protection. Vpon which occasion the Cardinall skirmished with him, and arreared the warre called the Cardinals warre, wherein he had as good successe, as in his entry into Paris. But albeit herein he became a laughing stocke and execrable altogether, yet did he still beare a grudge vnto the said Salcede, and razed him out at saint Bartlemewes murder, procuring him to be slaine at Paris, and his house vterly to be sacked.

But the chiefe occasion of suspicion ministred touching this matter, was that this drifte was not executed without the counsayl of the Baron of Poluiller, the gouernour of Haguenaui, who for that cause came to the Cardinal to Rembeuiller in Lorraine: who hath also bene a soliciter of the most parte of such enterprises, as haue bene practised against the estate of France, both during the warres of Picardie, and after that they were ended. This was he also who endeuored to surprise the towne of Lions, and to procure the countries of Bresse and Sauioy to reuolte, through the counsaile of the Cardinal of Arras about the ende of the sayde warres. This was the same Poluiller, who practised the King of Nauarre to reuolt, promising him in recompence the realme of Nauarre. This is that Poluiller, who being the Cardinall of Lorrains broker,

ker, durst practise the Prince of Conde, vnder pretence & wayne hope of helping him to the landes of the Bishoprick of Metz, in case he would haue professed the Romish religion: wherefore the readers may well consider what counsaill is to be hoped for at such a counsaylours handes, being also coioyned vnto the Cardinall of Lorraine, who during his aboade at Rembeuiller and in Lorraine, did many goodly deedes: for he pilled his subiectes of the Bishopricke of Metz vnder pretence of withdrawing the landes engaged vnto the Countie Iohn of Nassaw: He perswaded the Duke of Lorraine to murder all his subiectes that were of the Religion, which he had done in case the Lords of Castelet and Bassompierre had not with their counsaill restrayned him. He procured him also to bannishe a great number of the inhabitauntes of Pont-amossion, for hatred to the Gospell. Moreouer he suborned (some say he defiled and forcibly tooke) the daughter of the Baylie of Rembeuillers wiues chamber mayde.

The originall of the Duke d'Aumales letters to his brother the Marquise, whereof we haue seene parte of an abstract was presented vnto the King, who thereupon hauing heard the depositiō of one of his Knights of the order, who confessed that he had subscribed to the association afore mentioned in the said letters, caused in his priuie councill this acte folowing to be made, which here we haue set downe, to the ende thereby hereafter to consider certayn notable craftes of Italian Cardinallike policies.

This day being the 18. day of May 1565, the King being at Mont de Marsan assisted by the Queene his mother and his brother my lord the Duke of Orleans, hath called and assembled the Princes of his blood, his priuie councill, and other his Lordes and Knights of the order, who were about his person: to whom he hath giuen to vnderstande how he hath bene aduertised, that in diuers places of his Realme, there be made associations, collections of coyne, enroulings of men, gatherings of armour and horses: that some haue so farre strayed from their

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dueties, as to sende men out of his Realme, to haue intelligence and communication with forrein Princes without his knowledge, contrary to his Edictes of Pacification, of maioritie, and other ordinances, declarations and prohibitions against such like matters, which he neither can, ne yet will beleue, by reason of such accompt as he maketh of the affection and sincere good wil of al his subiects, to the obeying of his cōmandements, & cōmoditie of his seruice and the quiet of his realme. Neuerthelesse to the end better to be instructed in the trueth, he admonished & charged them to tel him the trueth of al that they haue heard. Which they haue done, & moreover do most humbly beseeche his maiestie to beleue, that they are so farre wide of these so pernicious practises, that rather they be ready & prest to spend their liues and goods, as alwayes they haue done, in procuring him to be obeyed, and his edictes and ordinances to be obserued for the rest and tranquillitie of his sayd realme. And we declare vpon their liues and honours, that they be in no wise participāt in any such intelligences, or haue any cōmunications with such as are desirous to make any such enterprises. Also as for them selues, they know not the meanings of any associations, leagues, othes, promises, or scales giuen to any such intent, and the same doe vtterly renoūce, not minding in any wise to participate in them, as in things cōtrary to the obedience due vnto his maiestie, and to the quiet of the realme, which to their powers they wil defend and mainteyne, & therin follow or know no other meaning then his Maiesties, not intending for any priuate quarel or occasion whatsoeuer, to take or cause to take weapons in the behalfe of any man liuing without his expresse commandemēt. Also although his Maiestie doe sufficiently knowe their loyaltie and fidegitie, and be of the same so well assured, that in their opinions he can desire no other more assured profe thē the effectes, yet were they content for the satisfying of his Maiesties request, to signe this acte with their scales. Also to the ende that vnder a false pretence no man may cloke his wicked

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wicked intent vnder their names, & because the princes of the blood, & other Princes, gouernours, Knights of the order & captaines being absent might know & vnderstand & cōtents afore said, his Maiestie willeth that this presēt acte be sent vnto thē, that by their seales, they may yeeld a like testimonie of their intents & good meanings in the same respect, no lesse (as he assureth him self) faithful, thē those who be about his person, & therefore will not belecue that they wil sticke any thing at al thereat. For he can not accompt such as by their seales do refuse to make declaratiō, other then guiltie of such enterprises, factions, and intelligences, and so consequently worthie his euil wil, as cōtēners of the authoritie of him & his edictes, perturbors of the cōmon peace, & therein guilty of treason. And in that case for such doth he accompt them & frō henceforth declare thē. And so likewise of all other who know any thing of the said associations, factions & cōspiracies, vnlesse they presētly come & reutale what they are assured of vnto his Maiestie, as is the ducie of good & lawful subiectes, whom also he intendeth & wil preserue and defende to the vttermost of his power, taking them into his protection against al such as shal endeouour to offend them. In witnesse whereof, he hath the day and yere afore said signed with his own hande to this present acte. This Acte nowe serued as a poudre to throw in the protestants eyes, thereby to blinde the sight of such things as were practised against thē. Also the Queene mother according to the Cardinals instructions & remembrances, fained her self offended with y Guisians, thereby to procure the chiefeſt Protestantes by litle & litle to come, & of them selues to fal into the pit prepared for thē. The Cardinal also and his brethren made as if this acte had touched thē, but secretly knowing what they had to do, they folowed their point. And thē did letters of the signet flie into al places, so that therof proceeded what soeuer was afterward executed in the cōtries of Tourayn and Maine, and other prouinces, to the preiudice of the Edicts and vnderhand authorised against the Protestants,

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notwithstanding whatsoeuer the Prince of Condies and others declarations. When then the Catholicks remoued both heauen and earth, and brought al things into confusion, a paper decree, stuffed ful of fayre pretences, quieted and appeased al, but if the Protestants stirred neuer so litle to the end vnder so violent a tyranny to take breath, then was no speech but of fire and blood, as witnessed the more then barbarouse and turkish cruelties executed vpon the inhabitants of Pamiers, who falsly were accused of sedition, for that they would not suffer their throates to be cut, and yet at the first summons of the Lord of Rábouillet, because he came in the Kings name, and promised that they should haue nothing done to them without order of lawe, they submitted them selues.

The King in the meane time arriued at Bayonne, where the holy league was renewed, which conteyned a full determination to root out al the Protestantes, without exception of degree, kinde, age or place. They should haue begun in France, but the preparatiues were somewhat long, for the Cardinal of Lorraine had not yet accomplished his practises in diuers places with straügers: neither were the associations within the realme very wel assured. The Prince of Conde also and the Admiral being aduertised of al that had passed at Bayon, as well through the late Prince of la Roche sur-yon as otherwise, stood vpo their garde, which caused all for a while to be deferred.

About the same time began the warres of Flanders, by meanes wherof they determined, with the aduise of the Cardinal who daily was summoned to performe his promise as wel by the Cardinal Granuel as by the Pope, (for Granuel dayly aduertised him of al things) that without farther delay they should vse the Duke d' Albaes passage to bring their conspiracies to effect: and diuers messages were sent to the Duke d' Alba thereupon. About the same time also namely in the yere 1567 in the moneths of Iuly, August and September, sundry councils were holden at Marchais and Monceaux, whereby to determine according to the
Cardinals

Cardinals remembrances, of the most assured and finall meanes, which were to be obserued for the execution of their enterprises: and in the last council holden at Marchais through the Guisians aduice, it was decreed that the King should goe to Bois de Vincennes, and thither vnder some honest pretence should send for the Prince of Condy and the Admiral: to the which commandement if they both, or any one of the did obey, he should immediatly be apprehended: but in case they refused, then the six thousand Switzers who had bene leuied vnder pretence of defending Calais against the Queene of England, and also to keepe the borders vntil the Duke d' Alba were past, lest he should enterprise any thing against the Kings dominions, should be employed. Also that they had ready twenty two companies of men of warre, already chosen and enrouled to muster in armes, who were alreadye charged, through whose helpe together with the said Switzers, they might easely surprise and assure them selues of the Prince and Admiral. And in the meane time that with al rigour they should research the Protestants, touching their behauiours contrary to the edict of Roussillon, namely the gentlemen that had receiued into their houses to the sermons, any other then their own subiectes. Whereupon at the instance and solliciting of the Cardinal of Lorrain, it was decreed not long before his comming to the Courte, that the great dayes should be holden at Poictiers, especially to tend vnto the proceffe of those who should be found culpable in the said pretended misbehaviours, and them to declare guiltie of treason: and inasmuch as those presidents and counselours of the court of Parliament of Paris, as were appointed to goe thither, seemed insufficient, partial and factious in the Cardinals sight, he caused to cut off seuen from the liste which was first made, and in their steades did surrogate others of his owne creation and conditions. For the country of Normandy he sent the master of requestes named S. Martin, to whom he procured a commission to the same end with letters directed to the court

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of Parliament of Rouen, tending that with the said de.S. Martin, they should tend to the performance of his commission, and not breake vp the courte, notwithstanding it were almost vacation time.

On an other side the Cardinal endeouored through the Constables meanes, to bring the Admiral and his brethré on sleepe, who had already written certaine letters, which detected the traines layed for them. The fixe thousande Switzers who were leuied for the execution hereof, about this time came to the King to Meaux, who was enuironed with the Guisians, so that the Prince and the Admiral plainly perceiuing, that it was against them and the Protestants that these preparatiues were made, determined before things were at a worse poynt, to come to the King, and for that he was in both his and their enemies hands, they thought it best to take into their company certaine gentlemen of name, of their kinsfolkes and friends, to the number of a hundred or six score, also to take some weapons for their assurance: which the Cardinal and his adherents failed not to cause the King to take in very euill parte, and the more to prouoke him against the Protestants, they perswaded him that his death was at hand, vnlesse with al speed he got to Paris, seeing that the Prince of Condy and the Admiral came with fifteene hundred or two thousand horses, entending to force his maiesty, the Queene his mother and my Lordes his brethren, and to enterprise somewhat against the estate: and therefore the 28 of September about four of clocke in the morning, they caused the King to departe, and put him among the Switzers, supposing that if the Prince were so wel accompanied as they reported (which was false, for when he came to speake to the King betwene Meaux and Paris, he had not at the most aboue thre hundred horse) things might grow to such passe, that stil some of their enemies of one side or other might go to wrack. The Duke d' Aumale & certaine others followed the King, who about foure of clocke after noone arriued at Paris, where the Guisians did exhort him
neuer

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neuer more to trust the Huguenots, as himselfe made ample Protestation.

The Cardinal according to his custome would not follow the King, but fained to take the way to Reymz: howbeit being met by certaine of his enemies, fled vpon a iennet of Spaine to Chasteauthierry. Thus was the second warre kindled in France, and notwithstanding any the Prince of Condye or his adherents requestes for the reducing of all things into quiet, yet the Guisians and the Queene mother to the end to be dispatched of one or other, caused a battel to be fought betwene Paris and S. Dionice, wherein the Constable was wounded to death. *The second civil warre*

This day brought the Cardinal and his a great contentation, in that they sawe themselues ridde of the Constable, and thereby the way open vnto the accomplishment of their desires. For on the one side, they endeououred to make the King a swornemie vnto the Protestants, who so much had stopped the course of the Guisian preferment, and so through him to ouerthrow their aduersaries. It was also requisite to haue some other mightie man more at commandement then the King, vnder whose authoritie they might shield themselues in the execution of their passions. So sone therefore as the Costable was dead, the Guisians counseled the Queene mother to make the Duke of Anjou the King his brothers lieutenant general: and she perceiuing what commoditie thereby she might reape, did soone follow this counsel. Whereupon the army marched, & the Guisians wholly gouerned the Duke of Anjou, & vnder his shadow, both then & euer since procured diuers fetches for the ouerthrow of the Protestants chiefly. But hereafter we wil shew what iniuries they haue done to the said Duke, in vsing him as an instrument to subuert all France.

Now forasmuch as the Protestants had presently succours out of Germanie, the Cardinal perceiued that by going backward he might iumpe the farther, and therefore when the Prince of Condes campe was before Chartres *The second Edict of 1571*
in *cification*

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in the yere 1568 he procured the King to send some men to the Prince to conclude a peace, that is to say, to vnarme the Protestants, whereby the more readily afterward to murder them. For he could not denie but that the Protestants were at that time the strongest, and yet not being compelled through want, either of strength or good successe, did separate and vnarme them selues, opening their townes to such as the Queene and the Cardinal sent in the Kings name, vnder whose onely faith and worde, they put away from them al assurance of liues and goods, yelding their naked brestes vnto their aduersaries swords and kniues. Al the Protestant Lords & gentlemen departed to their owne houses, whither when some could not find any sure accessse, and others were so euil intreated, as that diuers were most cruelly slaine & murdered, manie of them were constrained to assemble themselves together (which was it that the Cardinal and his fautors desired, as wel to finde occasion to flaunder them as infringers of the Edictes, as also to the end the more easily by ouerrunning of them to destroy them,) and not knowing what to do or whither to go, to take the way into Flanders verie vndiscretely, in that the King had forbidden them the same, although they were through meere necessitie, which (as the prouerbe is) hath no lawe, compelled thereunto. Howbeit the punishment was so readie and extreeme, that the Cardinal and his partakers ought to haue bene content. They vsed in the execution thereof the Marshal de Cofse his aide, to the end to charge their rage vpon as wel one as other. Then sent they a gentleman vnto the Prince of Conde, to know whether he allowed of the said leuie of men, wherein is to be seene a right Cardinals fetch, for the maintaining of the King in his rage, expelling the Prince out of the Court, causing to ouerrunne him, or his troupes if he aduowed them, and so by litle and litle consume his enemies. As for the strangers come to the Protestants aide, they were presently sent home, and the Prince and other Protestants compelled to borowe great summes of money

money wherewith to pay them: and yet through the Guisians commandements, the garrison of Auxerre stole part of that money, slaying some of the guydes and ransoming others, without anie kinde of iustice, for the Lord of Prie gouernour of Auxerre, where this great murder was committed, had the Cardinals word.

We wil here nowe briefly rehearse the practises which the Guisians after the second peace, vsed for the more spedie dissoluing thereof, and reducing the Realme into new troubles, thereby vtterly to roote out the Protestants & so to aduance their owne affaires. Wherin we wil recite part of the lamentation then published, referring to the readers remembrance certaine the particularities here omitted, the number whereof is so great, that it is vnpossible for one man to thinke vpon them al. The strength therefore and certaine assurance of this peace consisted in that, that the King, his brethren and their mother should wholly blot out al kinde of mistrust conceiued against the Protestants, wherein they hoped that themselves had already taken a verie good order, through their so readie & spedie obedience in forsaking their weapons, sending away of such of their power, as had bene sufficient to haue subdued the Guisians and other their enemies, and in yielding those places wherein consisted their sauegard. The Cardinal therefore to the end to preuent so great a commoditie, which vndoubtedly had spoyled his attempts, tended onely to the entertaining of the King and the Duke of Anjou (for as for the Queen mother, she vsed her children after the Guisians desire) in these mistrusts and mortal hatreds against the Protestants, daily repeating and putting them in minde of new occasions. Wherein he holpe him selfe with two vertues, which alwaies he hath bene verie familiar withal, namely of boldnesse to inuent al kinde of lies, being stil assisted by men meete for his purpose in that respect: and of such shamelesse assurance, that he would neuer be dashed out of countenance, notwithstanding his falsehoods were detected. His practi-

The Cardinals practises for the third troubles.

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ses which he hath exercised for both the entertainment and destruction of the nobilitie at once, his briberie and exactions against the Clergie, and the goodly pretences, vnder the which for that purpose he hath shrouded him selfe, shal be reueiled in place conuenient. In the meane time we wil beholde what iniuries he & his haue stil done to the King, and generally to the whole Realme, wherein we wil againe speake of the true complaintes published thereagainst.

Soone after the peace, whereof the Cardinal sent his mother word, that he would hinder the execution, he tooke order by certaine preachers of his owne faction, that the people might be perswaded that it was a matter of conscience to keepe this peace, not only for that it was made with heretikes and Atheists, but also because through the necessitie of time it was in maner wrested from the King by force. This caused that sundrie Catholikes made no conscience of putting of al natural affection, and that the most wicked finding the gate open vnto al theft and extorsions, did without stoppe runne headlong into al kinde of mischiefs, and the most horrible violences in the world. Whereunto the wincking of iudges and parliaments, being for the most part subiect vnto the Guisians, did greatly auaille, insomuch that within three or foure moneths after, diuers persons of al estates professing the Religion were murdered, the particularities whereof we wil referre vnto the historie of our time. But in this place are two notable particularities. Presently after the peace, the Catholikes of Amiens among other, murdered six or seuen score Protestants of al kindes, ages and conditions. Now to the end to make men beleue, that they sought to chastise and punish so wicked and cursed a deede, they sent thither the Marshal de Cosse, who imprisoned the authours of this murder: but soone after at the solliciting of the Cardinal, they were released & set at libertie, for he in ful counsayle affirmed that they ought to take pitie of these poore prisoners, who through a godly zeale of Religion had bene
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moued to do this deede, and that him selfe would be the first that should sue for their pardon, and so for a forme of iustice they caused to whippe three or foure rascals, whom they perswaded to confesse what they were, and in picture executed such as indeede ought to haue bene punished in person, who also were present at the execution of their owne pictures.

Toward the end of Iune in the same yere 1568, was Rene of Sauoy Lord of Sipierre murdered in Prouence, together with fife and thirtie gentlemen and souldiers of his traine, according to a certaine precept which the Guisians sent vnto the Baron des Arts: and fiftene daies before the said murder, the Cardinal of Guise in much companie said that they might alreadie accompt the Lord of Sipierre for a flaine Captaine, and that so they shoulde shortly haue al the rest.

By these and infinite such other deedes, the Protestants in stead of being taken into their houses with the freedom of conscience according to the Edict, were now forced to flie, the townes being in stead of townes, become dennes of Tygres and Lions. And afterwarde the gouernours, parliaments & other officers, whome the Cardinal vsed at his pleasure, and who also for the most part were not verie desirous to publish the peace, least thereby they shoulde lose the meanes to spoyle after their vsual maner, had their excuse readie: namely that the people being thus moued alreadie, it was not best to proceede anie farther for feare of marring all. In the meane while, the King him selfe was not onely entertayned through a thousand false and impudent flanders in the mistrust alreadie conceiued of his subiectes, which is the greatest mischiefe that may alight vpon anie Prince: but also contrarie vnto al royal generositie, was put in feare and reduced to this point, that he was fully perswaded that it was vnpossible that he shoulde be thorowly obeyed, vnlesse the one part of his subiectes might be permitted to destroye the other, and therefore it was an easie matter
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for the Cardinal to wrest the edict of peace into an occasion of a thousand millions of troubles.

Moreouer, the Cardinal foreseeing that if all the protestants should at once be turned out at doores, they might assemble and fortifie themselves againe in sundrie places, therefore provided against that mischiefe as followeth, yea, he presumed to write into the prouinces, that they should not credit the Kings letters, vnlesse they had some other assured tokens. First he procured the edict by litle and litle to be published, sometime here and sometime there, to the end to drawe the most needy and simple persons into the townes: but with this watchword, that the gates should be kept with armes euē more diligently then during the warres, that they should vtterly vnarme the Protestants at their entrie, that they should not permit any that once were entred, to get forth againe notwithstandinge they abiured. And in al this the Cardinal was so wel obeyed, that few townes escaped without some manifest and open murder, besides al other violences which were exercised, to the end to make the most constant to reuolt: which could not but come to passe when the sword was once taken from the King and iustice, and committed to the hands of the communaltie with al immunkie. Also to the end to be assured that neuer a protestant might escape, the Cardinal gaue the King to vnderstand that he should neuer remaine safe from the Huguenots practises, vnlesse the townes which they had holden, together with such as were their captaines neighbours were furnished with good and strong garrisons: so that this was no sooner counsell'd, but it was also commanded. Also yet for their more assured deligs herin, if there were any captain renowned for theuery, or cruelty, either any who had euer a priuate quarel, or any company giuen ouer to al leudenesse, those were sure to be preferred, how many soeuer there were of them, to the ende to replenish the townes so sone as they were yelded, or to lye about the houses of the Prince of Condie, the Admirall and other Lordes, whome
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the Cardinal hated, and stood in most feare of. Also when one of the priuie Councill chaunced to shewe the sayde Cardinall that it was to be feared, least hereby the Protestantes should ouer soone perceiue and smell that they would not obserue the edict, also least the Catholikes should complaine of being ouerpressed, the charges being so great that the King were not able to beare them: he answered, saying, You knowe not what you say. For the first of these two pointes, the answer is ready, namely that it is for the mainteining of both parties in peace according to the edict: and as for the second, for the Souldiers lodging among the Huguenots, and so an hundred fould ouercharging of them, as touching Cottisings, all such matters shal light vpon their coffers: & howsoever it be, their confiscations shall paye for all, and ouer and besides such recompences, shall discharge the Kings debts.

The Cardinal not yet content, to the end to keepe the said lords of the Religion from comming to the court, and more surely to prouide for the execution of his drifts, perswaded the King that his person should neuer be in safetie, without keeping him selfe as it were shut vp in Paris for a time, and not to stray away thence but by litle and litle. This when he had obtained, for the better keeping of his prisoner, he made drawbridges, and other gardes in al the waies and entries into Paris, as in time of open warre.

Hauiug thus framed his nets, he made an Edict in the Kings name, wherewith to drawe all the Protestants into the townes, there to murder them or keepe them prisoners in their owne houses, at the mercie of a number of thieues, vntil the appointed houre for the Sicilian euen-song. And to the end men might the better cōceiue hereof, we haue set downe the Edict, conteining as followeth. *The King*
 Like as to procure the obseruing, interteyning and inuio- *Edict of*
 lable keeping of the contentes of our Edict, made for the *Cardinal*
 pacification of the last troubles, chanced in this our *denising*
 Realme among our subiectes, we haue heretofore written *to what*
 and sent word vnto our gouernours of our prouinces our

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intent and pleasure as followeth: That the gates of our townes should be open vnto such our subiects as do professe the reformed Religion, and that them selues shoulde be receiued and settled in their houses in ful possession of their goods, as before the sayd troubles they were: leauing their weapons at the gates of the sayd townes, according to an order which to that end we haue sent into all partes and places of our dominions. So nowe beeing since aduertised, that sundrie our subiectes of the saide Religion, taking an opinion that they can not be receiued into the saide townes, either beeing entred, cannot tarie without beeing oppressed and molested by other the inhabitantes, haue therefore retired into the fieldes armed in great companies, there committing infinite euils and oppressions against our poore people, so that it is to be feared least they may procure in our Realme new troubles (whereunto desiring to prouide as it is requisite,) we haue againe said and declared, and now do say and declare that our intent alwayes was and stil is: That the said of the Religion pretended reformed, as well such as haue borne armes, as all others comprehended in the bounds of our Edict, shall haue free entrie, and be receiued into their mansion houses, whereinto we will and doe meane that they be admitted by the gouernours of our prouinces and townes, bayliefs, Seneschals and others our iustices and officers of the same, by whome they shall be summoned so to doe with al gentlenes possible, maintayned in peaceable possession and vse of their sayde goods, and preserued from all iniuries and oppression: to the end that in all suretie and quietnes, they may with other our subiectes of the Catholike Religion, vnder the benefite and according to the true meaning of our Edict of pacification, liue in al assurance and quietnes: taking them into our protection and sauegarde, and giuing euerie man charge with the custodie the one of the other. Also in case anie do goe against this our determination, our will and pleasure is that all such be punished with the
extremitie

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extremitie and rigour of our Edictes and ordinances of whatsoeuer Religion that they be, without exception of persons. Also wheresoeuer after these summons and calling, anie shalbe found enemies of common tranquillitie, or still keeping the fieldes, there to molest our subiectes, or to gather together in armes, to begin anie newe troubles: We will and our intent is, that all our saide gouernours of prouinces and townes, all Baylieses, Seneschals and other our iustices and officers, euerie man in his owne iurisdiction as to him appertaineth, shal assemble such numbers of men of warre, whether of men of armes, of footemen being in our paye, or inhabitants of townes and villages, as they shal thinke conuenient and necessarie, according to the aduertisements which they shal receiue of the perfect number of the said perturbors of the common quiet, for to ouerset them, and by all such meanes as them selues shal thinke conuenient, them ouerthrowe and heaw in pieces, in such wise as may be for our strength and obedience: For such is our will and pleasure. Giuen at Paris the 19. of May 1568. Charles. Robertet.

This Edict containeth infinite clauses and guiles of the Cardinal for the rooting out of the Protestants, aswel within the townes as in the fieldes, which the murders following, together with an other practise now to be scene, did but ouer truely verifie, to the great interest of the whole Realme, and perpetual ignominie of the royal Name.

Al men do knowe that the profite of al countries consisteth especially in trafike and marchandise, which is the thing which most commendeth France aboue al countries in the world. Now did one of the Articles of pacification import, that the townes should immediatly be restored to such estate as they were before the troubles, & al trafike & marchandise restored. The Cardinal not being able to abide that, & desirous that in France there might shortly appeare as many robberies, euen at the Kings & his poore peoples costes, as there be bridges and passages ouer riuers: To be brieve, to the end there might be no trafficke,

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letters or purses which thirtene ribbauldes were not sufficient to visite from one place to another, thereof to make reportte vnto the said Cardinal, we must marke what order he tooke, vnder colour said he to keepe the Protestantes from assembling together to conspire against the Kinge. As indeede that was one marke that he shot at, together with certaine other more high attempts, in case his enterprises against the Prince of Condyne and the Admirall had had good successe. Howbeit the commissiō which then he procured, more manifestly did reueile the iniurie which he did to the King and the realme: also his vehement desire to trouble al the estate, to the ende to exalt his owne race through his enemies ouerthrowe. This therefore was the tenour of the commissiō, made about the time of the edict afore set downe: namely in the moneth of Maye 1568. The King hath ordeined captaine N. in the towne of N. there to remaine Captaine and keeper of the bridge and passage: to whome shal be deliuered twelue men to assist his person, whome he may command whatsoeuer he thinketh meet & conuenient for the Kings seruice. which twelue men his maiestie shal pay, ouer and besides the entertainment alowed to the said captaine. He shal first procure to make a drawbridge ouer the sayde passage, which he and his twelue men shall daye and night diligently and warily watche and keepe: not permitting any to passe vnlesse he first knowe whence he commeth, whither he goeth, what his businesse is and who himselfe is. Also seeing any numbers of men approching to the passage ouer the sayd bridge, he shall presently cause it to be drawne, not suffering the passage to be taken before he be assured of the same, & do know that they haue no meanes to hurt him. Also to the ende that he & his twelue men with him may continually remaine at the said bridge, with al conuenient commodities, he shal immediatly take order for the making of a lodge neere vnto the said bridge, whither he and his souldiers may retire, lodge and accomodate the selues, in not going from the saide bridge or abandoning the

the custodie thereof: and to the same effect his maiestie hath written to the inhabitants of the same towne, that they at their owne cost do make the said lodge and drawbridge. Also forasmuche as it may greatly aduantage the said captaine towarde his sure keeping of the said bridge, and prouiding that there be no meanes to surprise the same, to haue knowledge of things done in the said quarters, he shal endeouour to discouer to his power the actions and intentes of those of the new religion: and hearing of any thinge preiudicial to the Kings maiesties seruice, he shal looke diligently to his charge, and giue warning vnto the Captaine of the next bridge, passage or towne: and the like shal all other captaines do, who haue commission for the keeping of any other bridges or passages, til time the King be thereof aduertised, so that he may take some order. And although the principal cause which moued the King to commit this captaine to the charge of the bridge or passage aforesaid, is for the safe custodie thereof, yet shal he for his part take diligent heede, that the Protestants haue no preachings or other exercises of their religion, in any other place then his maiestie hath to them ordeined and established, as wel by the contents of his edictes of pacification, as also by the rule prescribed since the publication of the last edict. He shal hearken and take good hede (as much as possibly he may) that the protestantes make no enroulings of men of warre, no leuyes or collections of coyne, no vnlawful assemblies, or motions of warre, either where his charge lyeth, or in any other place thereabout: but shal prouide for faithfull men to aduertise him, and if neede be to send some of the skilfullest about him, and such as haue any vnderstanding, or do seme meet to penetrate into the said Protestants affaires, to the end they may certifie him of whatsoeuer they can learne out. He shal endeouour to knowe whether there be any gentlemen of the Kings side, that be displeased, or do shewe anie countenance to fauour or followe the said protestants, any whome they haue suborned or motioned to

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make any practises or drifts tēding to the surprising of any the Kings towns,& haue not disclosed the same,to the end to keepe the said practises or enterprises the more secret & farther from suspicion.He shal also labour whē the said Protestants do holde their Synodes & assemblies,thorowly to detect & vnderstand the causes of the same,together with the conclusions therof. He shal finde meanes to get in vnder such pretence as he shall thinke best,some wise and trustie person, who may know and smel out the ende of their intentes , and giue him a good accompt of al that hath bene propounded or agreed vpon in the said assemblies. he shal take hede that there be no assemblies made in any towne or place forbidden and defended,either any secret exercise of their religion. To the end also that his maiestie may be serued as appertaineth,& with good knowledge among his trusty & faithfull subiects, the said captaine shal often commune with the gouernour who hath the charge of the towne, of such matters as may fal out touching his said maiesties seruice,& the one not to encroche vpon the others authority,lest any displeasure or controuersy should breed betweene the said gouernour & him. He shal curiously enquire who be the superintendēts ouer the protestants affaires in the said country,what their pensions are, and whether they do send any messengers into forein countries,& to what end. He shall also certify the King of al such matters as he hath learned , touching any the said matters or other things tending to his maiesties seruice, neither shal he faile of sending weekly one or more messengers according as matters shal fal out:& the same shal he addresse to my Lord the Kings brother and lieutenant general,who shal giue him answer.And the said captain may certifie the King & my said lord his brother of al that he knoweth by sēding his letters to him that shal haue the custody of the next bridge,& so from hand to hand shal the same be conueied by other captaines hauing like commission,vnto the King,or my Lord his brother.

Now may any man hauing wit or discretion consider in
this

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this cōmissiō wonderful policies of y^e Cardinal, & new preparatiues for warre, by y^e meanes wherof he aduanced him self. Also how by these drifts y^e third ciuil warre was sone kindled, for in lesse thē two moneths after y^e peace, there were aboute ten thousand persons slaine here & there: & in the meane time y^e Cardinal boasted that he would kil more betwene two trestles, thē y^e King could wth al his power: & sent word ordinarily to Rome & other places, that they had dispatched more Huguenots in one day during the peace, then in one moneth whiles the warres continewed.

Besides al this, the Cardinal doubting lest the Catholiks *The league of the Catholiks.* would not sufficiently rebel, procured them to make brotherhoodes, leagues, and associations, wherein sundry of the Parliaments and nobilitie assisted them, gathering together of money, giuing their othes, enrowling of souldiers, together with such other matters concerning the entertainment of their brotherhoodes, which they called of the holy Ghost. As in the towne of Dijon through the driftes of the Lord of Tauannes, and one named Begad a counsellour of the parliament, the like league was made, and when certaine standers by demanded whether it were by the Kings authoritie, the said Begad answered, that he had his maiesties letters for that purpose, which Tauannes had deliuered to one of his secretaries, who thē could not be found. Also that though the King liked not thereof, yet they nede not to feare, for he knew wel enough whither els to repaire. Morouer, y^e they were not to regard such letters as the King ordinarily writte to y^e said Tauannes, or vnto the court of Parliament, tēding to the obseruatiō of y^e edict, for they cōteined another mistery which al y^e world vnderstood not. The like was also done in Bourgundy & other places.

In the meane time the exercise of religion was forbidden in the hie and low countreis of Auuergne and in al other parts pertaining to the kings brethren, and to certain Princes of the blood. In other prouinces were dayly preparations for y^e apprehending of the principal, & yet by letters directed vnto such gouerners as had y^e wachword, they

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*Count
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were charged to let the gentlemen of the Religion vnderstand, that the Kings minde was wel to intreat them, and to maintaine them in the exercise of their Religion, thereby giuing them to wit, that he accounted them as his faithful and good subiects and seruants: and that such broyles as they heard of, tended only to the assuring of his estate against sundrie townes men, insolent and seditious persons, and so afterward to the restoring of al things into quiet estate, and to the fauouring of the nobilitie as wel of the one as other Religion, for that they are his principal strength, causing them to liue in agreement vnder the authoritie of his Edictes. These now were faire wordes: but least certaine Catholikes, not being sufficiently trained in the Cardinal and his adherents affayres, hearing such letters, might quaille, there were also other secret letters, sent with commandement to communicate the same vnto such, as were accompted meete to be called to like accomptes. This enterprise did the Cardinal also communicate vnto the Cardinal of Crequies agent at the Castle of Madrit in August 1568, whereof the saide agent did at large write vnto his master: the verie wordes of his letter which was surprised and brought to the Prince of Conde, haue we here set downe. They haue (saide the Cardinal to this agente) taken good order euerie where, that the King may remaine master, that the chiefe maye be caught, and all opportunitie of gathering together taken from them, to the ende that hauing brought them to that point, as by the order already taken it wil be easie to doe, we may then vtterly roote out this vermine (for so did the Cardinal call the Protestantes) beeing enemies vnto God, the King and the estate, and not leaue one infected person in the Realme, because it is such a seede as still will budde out newe mischief, vnlesse we shoulde take this way, whereof our neighbours doe set before vs so goodly examples. Attending which time, that can not be past this moneth, it is thought best in all the prouinces to speake fayre to the principal of them,

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and to such of the Nobilitie as seeme least affected to the saide Religion, thereby onely to content them in dallying, and as much as may be lulling them on sleepe, as already diuers haue hearkened therto, and doe beginne to assure them selues: yea some come, & of their owne accorde doe burne their winges in the candle, & yet doe we hope wel that more will doe the like, who we know are already shaken. This way vndoubtedly we shal sone winne our processe, and obtaine assured victorie, without any great labour or resistance against the enemies of our faith. These were the Cardinals fetches, which together with diuers other practises, whereof we wil in more conuenient place make mention, did kindle the fire of the third ciuil warres, being of longer continuance and more tedious then the rest.

The Prince of Conde toward the ende of the same moneth, in great haste saued him selfe by departing from Noyers in Bourgundie, where he should haue bene enclosed within two dayes after, & gat to Rochell, against which place, the Cardinal had already practised many things, but he troubled his head in vayne. Then was the warre open: and whyle they prepared to cause the Catholicke army to march vnder the conduct of the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal deuised two Edictes published both in one day in the Parliament of Paris, namely the 28. of September, to wit, the third day after that they had bene framed in the councill. In the first, the King making a long discourse of things happened in his Realme through the Religion, declareth among other things, that the Edict of Ianuary, wherein he granted the Protestantes leaue to exercise their Religion, was but prouisionall attending his maiority: also that now he was no lenger minded to permit the edictes touching Religion to stand any longer in force. Also that now being come to his maioritye, he forbiddeth all exercise of the same within his dominions, willing perpetually that there be no other exercise of Religion, sauing the Romaine in all his iurisdictions, vnder payne of confiscation of body and goods.

The third ciuil warre

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goods. Also vnder like penalty, he chargeth al ministers of the said Religion, to auoyde his Realme within fiftene dayes: forbidding neuertheles that any of the said Religion be researched in their consciences, so long as peaceably they wil liue in their houses. In the other he declared that from that time forward he did not intende to vse the seruice of any of the said Religion, and thereby did suspend them from their offices and functions: commanding them to come, and giue vp the same into his handes within fiftene dayes, or else him selfe woulde otherwise prouide. These two Edictes had long bene vpon the file, and the Cardinall a farre of shewed the same to the Catholickes, to moue them to come to the offering, and to bring in coyne for the armyes paye, wherein he, the Queene mother, and their mynions vsed their wonted sportes. But these Edictes were more preiudicial to the Catholickes then they supposed, for most of the Protestantes, who otherwise were not determined to haue gone out at the doores, behoulding this so manifest periurye, where-with the Cardinal diffamed the house of Valois, tooke the fieldes presently. Also the Protestante Lordes sent these Edictes into England and Germany, as assured testimonies that they were not pursued, as seditious persons or aspirers vnto the crowne (as before it had bene noysed) but as defenders of the Gospel, which the Catholickes endeouored to roote out of France. This was all that the Cardinall or his adherents gate thereby. About this time, were many writings published against the presumptuous and ambitious cruelty of the Guisians, but chiefly against the Cardinall, whose nature was amply described by a certaine learned French Poete, in a certaine Sonnet comprehending a curse in the ende.

And for that the said Sonnet is prety, & neuer yet to my knowledge was put in print, I haue here presented the same to the Reader.

Sonnet.

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Sonnet.

*De fer, de feu, de sang, Mars, Vulcan, Tisiphone,
 Basteit, forgea, remplit, l'ame, le cueur, la main
 Du meurtrier, embrasseur, du tyran inhumain
 Qui tue, brusle, perd la Francoise Couronne.
 D'un Scythe, d'un Cyclope, & d'un fier Lestrygone,
 La cruaute, l'ardeur, & la sanglante faim,
 Qui l'anime, l'eschauffe, & conduit son dessein,
 Rien que fer, rien que feu, rien que sang ne resonne.
 Puisse-il par le fer cruellement mourir,
 Ou par le feu du ciel horriblement perir,
 Et voir du sang des siens la terre estre arrousee:
 Et soit rouille, estaint, & seche par la paix,
 Le fer, le feu, le sang, cruel, ardant, espais,
 Qui tue, ard & rougit la France dissipee.*

This third ciuill warre beginning in October 1568, continued to the beginning of August 1570, the historye whereof hath bene at large written and published, wherein is to be seene how the Catholickes and Protestantes haue one destroyed the other, by viewing what battailles haue bene fought, what places besieged and taken, or what captaines and souldiers haue bene slayne: so that the Frenchmen haue committed against them selues, that which peraduenture all other nations in Europe together could not haue accomplished. Whiles in the meane time the Cardinal behelde this bloody tragedie, and practised all meanes to make the one parte to destroy the other. And for that it would be an infinite labour to describe all his driftes, it shall now suffice to consider parte of his subtilties vsed during this third ciuill warre.

First he assured him selfe of the Kings person, whom he ledde hither and thither according as things fell out, and so prouided that nothing might be done without his aduice. He serued also in stead of a firebrand to kindle the King more & more against the Protestants, chiefly against the chief of them, in whose respect he practised all kinde of violences and treasons for the compassing of his purposes.

Some

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Some being taken prisoners were (notwithstanding all vowed faith) slaine, others were poisoned, against others were murderers hiered, vnto whom the Cardinal gaue great rewardes.

Then gatte he many seruantes about the Duke of Anjou the Kings lieutenant generall, by whom he might incense the said Duke against the Protestants. This was of so dangerous consequence vnto the Prince of Conde, that finally it cost him his life. For Montesquiou, the said Dukes Captaine of his garde, slew the Prince, whom the lordes of Argence, and of S. Iohn had taken prisoner. Vnder the same policie the said Duke would grant no safe conduite vnto the lorde de l'Estrange, the deputie in the behalfe of the Protestant Lordes & Princes in Iune 1569, who should haue gone to present their supplication to the King, as touching such meanes and remedies, as he knew most conuenient and profitable for appeasing of the warre, and establishing of a perfect peace.

The same policie did the Cardinall vse in hindering the concluding of the peace: For being certified that the Admirall had sent the said supplication to his cousin the Marshal of Montmorency, that he might offer the same to the King, he preuented the said Marshal, alleaging vnto the King, that it was no reason that such rebellious subiects should speake to the King as farre of, also that vnlesse they came and yelded them selues to his mercie, they were not to be heard, but with weapons to be subdued. According to which counsayle the King shewed the said Marshall of Montmorécy, that he would neither looke vpon, or heare any thing that came from the Protestants, but chiefly from the Admiral, before he had taken them to fauour, which he would doe in case they would yelde to doe their duties: as if afore the said Admiral and his men had not most earnestly entreated the King, like as now againe in this supplication they did, for these wordes were therein contained: They doe most humbly desire your Maiestye to graunt, and generally permit to all your subiectes of what
estate

estate or condition so euer they be, free exercise of their religion in al townes, villages and boroughes, and in al other partes & places of your realme and countries in your obedience and protection, without exception, moderatiō or restraint of persons, time or place, with all requisite and necessarie assurance. And moreouer to ordeyne & inioine al men, openly to professe eyther the one or the other religion, thereby to cut of diuers, who abusing this benefite and fauour, are fallen into Atheisme and all carnall libertie, hauing freed them selues frō the exercise and profession of al religions, being desirous to see nothing but confusion in this realme, together with the ouerthrowe and suppression of all order, policie, and ecclesiasticall discipline, which is a most pernicious and dangerous matter, vtterly intolerable. Also, deare Lorde, for as much as the sayde Princes, Lordes, Knights, Gentlemen and other in their companies, doubt not but they, who hitherto haue planted the foundations of their practises vpon such slaunders as impudently they doe publishe, to the ende to procure the sayd Princes to be brought into the hatred and displeasure, euen of such as through the grace of God, are freed from all bondage and tyrannie of Antichrist, will not sayle but affirme that they will rather stily without reason defend whatsoeuer they once haue determined to beleue, touching the Articles of Christian religion, then correct and withdrawe them selues, therefore the aforesaid Princes, Lordes, Knights, Gentlemen and other their companie doe declare and protest, as alwayes they haue done, that if in any one point of the confession of fayth heretofore presented to your Maiestie by the reformed churches of your realme, they may be instructed, that by Gods word comprehended in the Canonical bookes of the holy scripture, they haue strayed from the doctrine of the Apostles or Prophetes, they will readily yeeld and willingly graunt to such as by Gods word may better instruct them, then in the beginning they haue bene, if they doe erre in any article. And for this cause doe desire nothing so much as a conuocation

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conuocation of a free, general and lawful counsell, wherein euery man may be heard alleadge their reasons, which must be either confirmed, or conuincd by the onely word of God, according to the maner vsed in all times for like occasions.

In the meane time the Cardinall brought vp the Duke of Aniou at the charges of the Clergie and Catholikes, to the end to destroy the Protestants, and to get a new string vnto his bow, wherwith he might shoote at other matters, in case the warre had such successe as he wished. For as for peace he accompted it vnpossible and past hope of beyng concluded, without the vtter destruction and abolishing of the contrary faction. Now sought he continually to cloke his priuate interest, and to cause the King to thinke it vnpossible to come to any peace, and so consequently to hazard all things rather then to yeelde so much, and to that end propounded two great lets. The first taken of the contrariety of religiō, which (said he) neither could nor ought to be borne withall in the realme. The other deriued from the Kings maiesties fame, which (sayd he) the protestantes had blemished, and therfore it was vnpossible for them to salue vp such a wound, vnlesse laying down their weapons, they came in haulters about their neckes to submit them selues to the Kings mercie, sitting in his seat of the Cardinals iustice. But he alleaged these reasons (to the which the protestants haue often sufficiently answered) not so much for any zeale to religion, whereof in the bookes folowing we will more amply entreat, neither for any affectiō to the King against whom he conspired, but rather because that before he graūted to any motion of peace, he would be assured that howsoeuer matters went, he & his would keepe the chief roome in the counsaile of the King & realme, that he might put out or in, the officers of the crown at his own discretion, that he might ordeine and dispose the lawe & treasure, as seemed best to his couetous appetite: to be brief, that the realme might of him take lawes to do or not to do, to speake or not to speake, & at one word, that at his
pleasure

pleasure he might remoue both soules, bodyes and goods, both of the heade and members of the said Realme.

He feared also least the King should giue eare vnto the declarations of the Protestantes deputies, wherby in time he might easely perceiue, that those counseilers who haue giuen him to vnderstand, that the onely meanes to extinguishe in his realme all diuersitie of Religion, was through warre, were Atheistes, or els brainelesse persons wholly ignorant euen to the ende. Also least the King might call to minde how that since the said Cardinals returne from the Council of Trent, the whole body of his priuie councill hath bene deuided and parted into two seuerall opinions, the one part wishing for peace, the other for warre: and therefore the Cardinall and his adherentes might be the worse entreated. Wherefore he resolved together with his partakers, so much as might be to prolong the warre, thereby to corrupt and frame the King after his owne appetite, and so destroye the Protestantes, thereby to prepare the readier path to the performance of his secret driftes. He perswaded him selfe in time to conquere the saide Protestantes. First, being driuen out of most townes in the Realme, and reduced into the extremities of the same in a litle corner of Saintonge, they might easely be inclosed in this small quantitie of ground, by meanes of such riuers & townes as doe abbut vpon the Marches of Angoulmois & the places thereabout: so that being once raunged within such barres, the famine and infection of the ayre, raysed through the vapoures of their troupes and companies, should within fewe moneths force them to come in with haulters about their neckes, and so to yeelde them selues to his discretion & mercy. Then that the principal strength of the Princes campe consisting in straungers, for the payment of whose arrearages alreadie due vnto the, vntill then the protestants had almost drawe their purses drie, & therefore had small opportunitie in tyme to come to satisfie the: they of friends should become foes, which easely might be

be compassed, and they be entised if not to fight with the
 Protestantes, yet at the least vpon payment of their due-
 ties to returne home into theyr owne countries. Fi-
 nally, the Cardinal grounded the prolōging of the warre
 vpon the vncertayne hazard of battayles, by reason of in-
 conueniences of his owne parte. All such as cōsidered that
 now all the French Nobilitie, and the chief part of their
 warriours were already in the fields vpon the point, in case
 any battayle should be fought, to murder one an other, did
 bewaile the miserable estate of the King and his Realme,
 who leaned to their subuersion through the happe of such
 a meeting, to whom soeuer the victorie fel. But the Cardi-
 nall and his factiō made so smal accompt hereof, that they
 could haue wished that the parte lying vpon the ground,
 had left the conquerours so wounded, that they might ne-
 uer haue risen again: not in hope to haue created any new
 French nobilitie with a sheet of paper, or a skinne of par-
 chement, and foure vneces of waxe (according to the Cardi-
 nals apophthegme, which was that the King was able in
 one houre to create more Gentlemē, then in tenne yerres
 space might be cōsumed in the warres) but rather for that
 that the sayd French nobilitie being extinguished, the way
 would be the readier vnto the accomplishmēt of the Gui-
 fians forecastes, and through the supporte of the Mayres,
 Sheriffes, and Counsaylours of the most part of the townes
 in France, of long time affectionate vnto the Cardinal, like
 as were the courtes of Parliamēt, vnder pretence of main-
 taining the Catholike Church, they might chalenge the
 title to the Crowne, the which they haue so long boasted
 to appertaine vnto the house of Lorraine, by vertue of an
 imaginatiue succession from the stocke of Charles the
 great: Howbeit the Cardinall fearing least the battayle
 should be tryed rather in the maner of a fraie, and disper-
 sion of one of the armies, then by any great bloodshed,
 thought best to assure him selfe through delayes in prolō-
 ging the time, rather then to buylde his full hope vpon so
 wauering and daungerous a foundation. For if the victorie
 had

had fallen to the Protestants, the Guisians would haue accomplished them selues vndone: also if the Cardinals armie had gotten the best, then did he forecast that their furie being ouer, some of the Catholikes might haue commenced as dangerous a quarel against him as that, and agayne require of him the liues of such Lords and Gentlemen, as peraduenture had bene offred vpon the altar of his ambition. For all they that serued the Duke of Anjou, were not so bent vnto the Guisians seruice, as the said Cardinal and his adherents could haue wished.

Thus did the Cardinal spin this corde of Ciuil warres, & draw it as long as he could, notwithstanding that in his considerations there passed great ouersights, which here I will neyther detect, neyther confute, for that is the office of some such person as hath leysure to deuise some politike discourses, and reueale the blindnesse of the French Catholike Gentlemen, who in professing them selues men of experience and practise, haue suffered a priest to baffulle them, who was more cowardly then a woman, and who also in his sleecue in the cōpanie of his familiar friends with open throate scorned them, as in place conuenient we shal hereafter see.

The Duke d'Aumale was vpon the borders of Burgundy & Lorraine, accompanied with great troupes ouer whom he commaunded, and there wayted to stoppe the passage of the Reistres, who came to the protestants ayde. Wherein he had as good successe as in other his martiall deedes: For his souldiers openly sayde that he had more fleshe then witte or courage. And in deed notwithstanding he were in a conuenient cōtry for his footmen, of whom there were a great number, and those trayned soldiers, yet did he nothing worth the speaking of, but sundrie tymes was in daſiger of being wel beaten, yea he refused to meet with his enemies in a place greatly to his aduantage. But to say the trueth, the Cardinall was also one cause of these kinde of dealings, for he minded not that they shoulde so soone come to handy blowes, but hoped cyther to winne

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the straungers, or els to finde them at a better aduantage, and so fought more and more to shuffle the cardes, whereby he might meete with the better game.

As for the yong Duke of Guise, through his great fauour with the Duke of Anjou, proceeding of their straight acquaintance, besides that he was great master, he was now highly aduanced. His vncler also placed about him many captaynes, who at Poictiers stood him in good stead. The Marquise of Maine his yonger brother, was then through his youth of no countenance. The great Prior and the Marquise d'Ellebeuse his vncles were dead a while before, neither were they greatly regarded, as men hauing no more witte then their brother the Cardinal of Lorraine had bestowed vpon them, neither were they factious, but as he taught and commaunded them.

But at all aduentures, we haue extended this matter farre enough in this first parte of the legende of the lordes of Guise: We will therefore permit the readers to take breath, and giue our penne some respite, whereby to proceede in the reste, namely of the behauiours of the Cardinall and his adherents in the third Edict of pacification, also of their meanes to attaine vnto the murder at S. Bartlemewes daye: also of such things as of their partes haue since chanced to the confusion of King Charles and his estate. Also of the euill pranckes which they haue played with King Henrye the third now reigning, with all the princes of the blood, the great Lordes, the Nobilitye, the Iustices, the Clergie, the people as well of the one as of the other Religion, their fauours and friendes, yea and one of them selues with an other. Here before we haue seene parte of their dealinges vnder Francis the first, Henry the second, Francis the second, and Charles the ninthe: but the sundry particularities, which shalbe set downe in the other bookes following, will shew that in this first parte we haue only touched the matters, and described as it were the entrie into the bloody, villainous and accursed palace of the Guisians. Let this therefore be the beginning of a
greater

CARDINAL OF LOR.

greater worke, & I would to God that by this that is past,
the Frenchmen might (though somewhat late and to their
cost) know part of those instruments wherwith the Lord
for their offences hath scourged them, to the end
that returning vnto him as they ought, they
might receiue soner then I hope
for, some rest and
ease.

FINIS.